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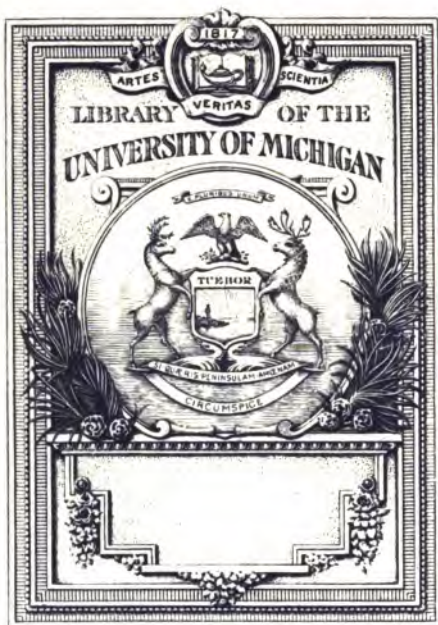
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Addresses
***World's Social Progress
Congress***

WILLIAM M. BELL, D.D., LL. D.



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ADDRESSES

World's Social Progress
Congress, *San Francisco, 1915.*

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA
April One to Eleven
Nineteen Hundred and Fifteen
Auspices Committee of One Hundred

Edited by
WILLIAM M. BELL, D.D., LL. D.
Bishop Pacific District Church of the United Brethren in Christ
President World's Social Progress Council

COMMITTEE OF ONE HUNDRED
BISHOP EDWIN H. HUGHES, D.D., LL. D.
Chairman, San Francisco
REV. H. H. BELL, D.D.
Exposition Secretary, San Francisco



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THE WORLD'S SOCIAL PROGRESS CONGRESS.

Authorized and promoted by the Committee of One Hundred in charge of religious work at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, the committee being constituted by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and directly in charge of a special committee, as follows:

Bishop William M. Bell, D.D., LL.D., Chairman.

Governor Hiram M. Johnson.

Hon. Richmond P. Hobson.

Hon. J. Stitt Wilson.

President Benjamin Ide Wheeler.

Rev. Hugh W. Gilchrist, D.D.

Rev. J. A. Geisinger, D.D.

Rev. J. E. Squires, D.D.

President John Henry Whyte.

Professor C. S. Gardner, D.D.

Chancellor David Starr Jordan.

Bishop Francis J. McConnell, D.D., LL.D.

Professor E. A. Wicher, D.D.

The sessions were all held in Hall B, Civic Auditorium, San Francisco, California, April 1-11, 1915.

Professor P. P. Bilhorn, of Chicago, conducted the music, supported by a large chorus.

At a business session, the congress unanimously adopted the following:

DECLARATION.

1. That in our judgment the time is opportune for a permanent organization that shall undertake to develop and carry forward a specific and constructive program in behalf of Social Progress, which shall be, please God, as

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largely as our resources and ability shall make possible, a world-wide, co-operative effort.

2. That we proceed to organize the World's Social Progress Council by electing officers to lead us in carrying forward this work and that we authorize the said officers as an Executive Committee to complete the organization as in their judgment shall be deemed wise and best.

3. That we authorize a session of the World's Social Progress Council at such time and place in 1916 as the officers or Executive Committee may deem advisable, and also the prosecution of the work of the council as extensively as shall be found possible, in the United States, Canada, Mexico, and any other country in which the good work in any way may be promoted.

4. That we will duly exalt the principle of individual character and responsibility as the basis for social progress.

5. That we recognize the inevitable reactions of environment on the nature and achievements of human kind, and call attention to the responsibility of society for the securing as nearly as may be of a favoring environment in so far as it is a matter of human control and such as shall be adapted to the highest efficiency and development of the race.

6. That we are of judgment that the religious organizations together with all the other institutions and organizations of civilization should at once identify themselves under a sane and aggressive leadership in behalf of social justice and efficiency in order that every removable human handicap shall be lifted from the back of our common humanity.

7. That a satisfactory definition of, and program for, social progress shall be wrought out in the light of the highest and worthiest ideals known to mankind.

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8. That civil government should genuinely serve the cause of social progress by heartily acknowledging the sovereignty of the people and nurturing that sovereignty in constructive activity, international justice, friendliness, and good will.

9. That we will work loyally for permanent peace among men and nations, not merely for absence of strife, but for co-operative and constructive relations based on mutual help and mutual respect.

At a business session on April 9, the Committee on Nominations reported, placing in nomination the following officers, and the same were duly and unanimously elected:

President, Bishop William M. Bell, Los Angeles, Cal.

Secretary, Prof. E. A. Wicher, San Anselmo, Cal.

Treasurer, A. W. Naylor, First National Bank, Berkeley, Cal.

SUMMARY.

1. The congress has been a marvelous manifestation of the rising tide of interest in behalf of social solution and advancement in that speakers from different parts of the world have willingly and even enthusiastically traveled long distances to speak on the platform with no reward expected except the reward that comes from heart satisfaction because one has done by so much the more his duty in promoting a new and commanding social conscience that shall assert itself in behalf of better conditions in modern civilization.

2. The grade of work done from the platform has been exceptionally high. No speaker was invited unless well accredited in the light of real and notable achievement with the result that the entire list of addresses has brought no mere average production to public hearing and attention. Human tongues have flamed into the most

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sublime and persuasive eloquence as pleas have been made in a sane and orderly way for the removal of the predatory, atrocious, and unjust aspects of our present social order. Just and discriminating appreciation of every good in modern civilization has constantly been in evidence while the outreach toward progress and improvement has been keen and insistent.

3. The utterances of the platform have been emotional and scientific. The emotion of hate has been deprecated and that of brotherhood exalted. Demand has been made that nations as well as individuals shall exemplify moral genuineness and that governments shall be held as responsible as individuals for good will, sincerity, and disinterestedness in order that the evolution of the social order shall be unmistakably constructive. The programs suggested for human betterment have been sane, inspiring, and assuring. Nothing weird or fanciful has been in evidence, but the healthful, moral, stable, and confirmed methods of social advancement have been brought forward. The note of optimism and courage has been dominant throughout. Admitting the difficulties of the task at hand, and allowing for the tenacity of the agencies of evil, there has nevertheless been manifest in every session a sense of social potency that is most heartening.

4. Existing institutions and organizations have been duly honored while a mighty tide rose daily toward new creations and alignments in so far as the current social awakening shall make necessary and desirable. A resourceful and regnant spontaneity answering to the world-wide call for unselfish and sacrificial life was engendered with cumulative power. The new adjustments called for in relating the total wealth to the total and universal human necessity were discussed fairly, fearlessly, and sympathetically. With all that is transpiring

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in the world that is depressing, the skies were never as radiant with hope as to-day. The race is facing forward and not backward. The spiritual, social, moral, and economic entities are rising in colossal proportions and the Almighty Jehovah is lifting up into a holy persistence and importunity the hearts of those who must lead the hosts of brotherhood, good will, and service to mankind.

5. Unmistakably the organization of the World's Social Progress Council presages a far-reaching mobilization of the forces that contend for the humanizing of industry, economics, and civil government. A continuity of educational effort is planned together with such concrete applications of the ideals of the council as just adjustments shall dictate and human resources and skill shall make possible. The extension of the work of the council on lines indicated in the San Francisco program is in mind. Just as rapidly as means are available for the work of extension, local councils will be chartered and developed throughout the United States and in the regions beyond. From expressions of interest and appreciation from men and women who are influential and able to give assistance, this support seems reasonably assured. Correspondence and remittances may be addressed to Bishop William M. Bell, President, 227 West Fifty-first Street, Los Angeles, Cal.; Prof. E. A. Wicher, Secretary, San Anselmo, Cal.; A. W. Naylor, Treasurer, First National Bank, Berkeley, Cal.



INTRODUCTION.

This volume of addresses delivered at the World's Social Progress Congress, assembled in San Francisco, California, April 1-11, 1915, is for most part the work of a stenographer and due allowance must be made for such mistakes as the fact would indicate. It should be said, however, that the work was done by one skilled and efficient, and it is the belief of the undersigned that very few mistakes have been made. Not all the addresses are included because of the fact that the services of the stenographer did not cover the entire eleven days. It is believed that the contents of the volume will justify its publication as being a part of the product of the Committee of One Hundred, though as a matter of course, each speaker is himself responsible for his utterances. The addresses are on subjects of current interest and urgency. That they will be given a wide and profitable reading is well assured. Many friends who heard one or more of the addresses have expressed a desire to forward a good cause by circulating the books. The book will retail for one dollar per copy, and remittances and orders may be sent to Bishop William M. Bell, President, 227 West Fifty-first Street, Los Angeles, California.



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CHAPTER I.
THE SOCIAL URGENCY.

BY WILLIAM M. BELL.

The temper of the universal mind is such at the present time that economic conditions are passing under a new and searching scrutiny. This is not to be wondered at, but on the contrary it appears to be easily accounted for by reference to any one of a number of causes. In a single word the constructive conscience of mankind, growing every day more powerful, accounts for this new scrutiny. The general prevalence of knowledge and religion and the by-products of each are making the process of scrutiny vital and humane. This age appreciates and understands the social and life significance of money as no other age has been able to do, and this is no reflection on preceding generations. The appreciation is the result of the general advance in the conquests of civilization and the resultant feeling that man's achievements in the material environment should be compelled to minister with a greater uniformity and equality to human comfort, happiness, and advancement. That the demand for social justice should not appear to have a pronounced urgency to all individuals equally is inevitable. Self-complacency and comfort are always apprehensive of change. Social and economic inequalities are felt most keenly by those who are the greatest sufferers therefrom. The feeling and viewpoint of the sufferer and the already affluent are sure to differ. The correct appraisal of the viewpoint and feeling of each must be made and the voice of each must be heard dispassionately and sympathetically.

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It should be borne in mind that the evolution toward social justice and equality, while admittedly desirable, has always been seriously retarded. The retarding influences are sometimes deliberately pernicious and predatory. It is this aspect of the situation which justifies the interest and activity of all fair-minded people. Desirable evolutions are measurably retarded by certain limitations that human ability cannot annul. When the influences that retard are of deliberate, human origin, it becomes the duty of government and of individuals to accept the challenge which the fact affords, and apply the remedy. This task always is urgent and at the same time admittedly difficult. Its difficulty must not deter us from the task. If the evolution becomes so manifestly tardy as to indicate apathy and inertia, then orderly assault on the existing status becomes imperative duty. Desirable reform may not be forever delayed. Radicalism sometimes is necessary in the forwarding of needed reforms. Radicalism and conservatism both have their place in the evolution of society. They both have their place in the individual character. The processes of social decay or of social progress are of necessity slow, and the fact often results in stress and storm. It is both a menace and a safeguard. Apparently the over-conservative would in effect annul the law of change but it cannot be annulled. It exists by divine appointment and it must be frequently invoked, but it must always be done with sanity and moderation. It requires deliberate, efficient, and organized work to correct the ultra-conservative. The present status has a certain alluring and subtle fascination, while it is also extremely persistent. It is always easier to be satisfied with conditions as they now obtain than it is to pioneer in the direction of improvement, and especially so when the vested interests enter into the issue.

The Social Urgency

The defense of the present status always has the advantage. The present status is frequently accorded an abnormal sanctity and a wisdom which it does not possess. Beside, social progress has always been and always will remain a costly process in every sense of the term. Because inequality, after it has existed for a time, assumes a peculiar tenacity, and because social progress is a challenging and costly process many surrender to social pessimism. Hopeless people can never do the vital work of society. Social impotence is but another form of social hopelessness.

No intelligent person but recognizes the present existence of destructive, abnormal, and unnecessary financial inequalities that can be remedied. Our civilization is seriously approaching the problem of the distribution of wealth. Its accumulation has had its difficulties and is no mean achievement. It has involved the devotion of brain and brawn, and always will do so. Its undue and abnormal centralization has elements of peril to the individual and to the social order. The situation must be discussed calmly and dispassionately and those who discuss it and find protest against it in conformity with their best judgment and ideals are not, therefore, to be branded as erratic extremists. Conservatism is often astute, but it is sometimes obtuse and lacking in alertness. Every institution and organization has what may be called a peril of conservation. Organizations and institutions may press the matter of self-conservation to the extent of self-destruction. "Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad." On all the big, mooted questions that are being born of the very rapidity with which society is evolving, there is need of patience, candor, open-mindedness, sympathy, and thoroughness. It is evident that social and industrial justice would all but remove poverty

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throughout the civilized world. The contribution which this justice would make to the progress of society has not as yet been fully appreciated. Between the status as it is and as it should be, is a world of achievement that affords task and challenge for us all. Modern civilization is slowly moving toward a fine social potency. Undue conservatism will challenge every progressive movement. Admittedly the tasks of democracy are colossal and call for unselfishness, exalted character, and statesmanship. A civilization that proposes to work out its problems through the principle of democracy must maintain a high percentage of efficiency in religion, education, government, commerce, and industry. An abnormal conservatism registers itself by refusing to face all of these high challenges. It consents to the floating derelicts of the social order and treats them as a matter in due and regular course. They are accepted as well nigh a standard commodity from which there is no escape. Instead of challenging our principle of democracy, we need to challenge our inertia. Instead of doubting that a new gait in social advancement is possible and that it is now due, let us hear the clarion call to "forward march." Those who stand for social justice and advance must show themselves resourceful and alert. Stupid goodness is at this time especially unpardonable and offensive. Brilliant sinning must be met by brilliant righteousness.

Specific offenses against the progress of society must be noted not as though they were normal, but on the contrary erratic and abnormal. One calling attention to them must not be rated as reveling in the abnormal or as undervaluing or overlooking the wholesome and worthy in the social order. With all this in mind let us note that certain representatives of big business have been presuming to dictate political policies as if so to do was an unques-

The Social Urgency

tioned prerogative. It should be borne in mind that civilization has always yielded an abnormal control to wealth as such. The twentieth century demand that government shall take the viewpoint of the social welfare is sane and constructive. Any control when becoming conscious of its power is tempted to self-interest. Financial inequality logically creates social inequality. Because of all this the rising tide of well-grounded protest from an increasingly noble and emancipated humanity should be duly and carefully appraised. Such a distribution of wealth as approximates equity, is a sane and Christian demand. Beside, it needs to be well understood that our captains of finance have no right to debase our men in public life. Such debasing breeds suspicion of representative government, and such suspicion can only be deplored. Our cities should be the instruments of social uplift, but they have been far too often exploited for the benefit of favored capitalists. Remove the fact and we will be happy to never refer to it again, but so long as the fact remains, duty compels that it be pointed out. Our wage earners need better protection than they are now having, and in many obvious ways it should be afforded without longer delay. Modern civilization must assume colossal burdens and programs for all sorts of public improvements, and these should be equitably distributed. The tax sheets should be investigated without fear or favor. Let us move from theoretical to actual equality before the law. Let our courts be extremely careful to guard against judicial bias in favor of wealth.

Public opinion, that mighty aid to efficiency in a free government, must be protected from subterfuge and duplicity. A press that deliberately misleads the public deserves to be characterized as venal and unworthy of its high privilege under a free and generous government.

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The people are the greatest jury on earth, and they must not be misled. They deserve all the facts and may be trusted to bring in a useful verdict. On some of the outstanding evils of modern civilization the facts are all in and the verdict should be forthcoming. Our education has been and must be of both mind and conscience. Anywhere the lack of moral integrity is a raging cancer. Our commercialism must not be allowed to give the lie to our conventional professions of human brotherhood. That which is conventional only with us must become spontaneous and hearty. We must have genuineness in our democracy, Christianity, and social interest. The sense of proprietorship in wealth must give place to a deep sense of trusteeship. All the processes of our civilization must be made to accept the compulsions of the moral control. A genuine effort to install social justice must become the dominant attitude with us all. The sense of social solidarity is growing rapidly. Our varied and total control should embody the highest known code of moral principles. Civilization must face in all lands this challenging ideal. It cannot be side-stepped and dismissed as impractical and visionary. Nothing immoral and inhumane has a right to any sort of legal sanction. Legislation has no authorization save as it moves in the sanctions of morality. High ideals rather than money must dominate the world. The viewpoint of the hardened, capitalistic mind must not be allowed to dominate our free institutions. Our safety lies in the Christian mastery of our economics. Any immorality is transmuted directly into economic loss. No private enterprise has the right to diminish or imperil the general welfare. The elevation of all the people is the supreme task of civilization. We must stand by good laws even when they interfere with our unjustifiable gains or pleasures. Such tests make

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imperative demand for high religious character in our citizenship. Let us hail the age of social urgency, for it is the age of opportunity.

The hour for social reconstruction is at hand. It cannot be unduly delayed without causing crisis and revolution of one kind and another. Revolution has been necessary in the past because of blind selfishness and conservatism. It may be necessary again, but if the men who have the positions of power and advantage in the present industrial, financial, and general economic status have apprehended the significance of the rapid evolution of the social conscience of the race in recent years, it may be obviated. The great fundamentals of an efficient civilization are rapidly becoming internationalized. There is a mighty imperative in the movement, and palsied will be the arm that presumes to turn it back. The principle of democracy, it is now understood, is not to be applied to civil government only, but to all that is essentially good for humankind. It applies to money and property and the democratizing of these is demanded now as never in all the past. Money and property are vitally related to the proper development of all the institutions that are fundamental to an advancing civilization. The oldest institution known to civilization is the family. Immediately when the question of family efficiency is taken up, there comes the demand for adequate wage for labor, self-support, ownership, and general economic competence. A large proportion of the people in the present generation are wage workers, and all of these people should be clearly identified with family life. Family life is impossible to many of our young men to-day because wages are too low to justify marriage, with its natural result in parenthood. A low wage is a real deterrent of

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marriage, for no thoughtful man is so reckless as to wish to involve himself in marital responsibility which at once affects the comfort, happiness, and welfare of another than himself. The wage question ought not be settled on the low plane of demand and supply. The principle of social and family efficiency should determine, and this viewpoint will be adopted sooner or later and become dominant. It should come spontaneously, but if it does not so come, then legislation must enforce it. The family or home life of modern civilization is approaching a real and necessary standardization. In that standardization is the demand for industry, skill, training, thrift, and high character as the family content. Another phase of the standardization demands sufficient income in exchange for honest toil to provide for self-support and ownership at least sufficient to guarantee reasonable leisure, competence in old age, and other requisites of family efficiency. If the family is not self-supporting, society is invariably called upon to meet the deficit in the form of charity, asylums of various kinds, court and crime costs, and special institutions for the defectives. Why not betake ourselves to a Christian and scientific effort for prevention instead of spasmodic attempts at cure. Ownership for various reasons is becoming increasingly difficult. It ought not be too difficult, for that means destruction to many. The land is almost, if not quite, beyond the reach of multitudes of families, and this contributes to the social urgency. Heaven pity the children of the tenements. We are making the costly blunder of trying to rear children successfully and satisfactorily in so-called cheap rental or tenement districts. Every child is entitled to contact with meadows, fruits, flowers, forests, streams, grain fields, and all that makes up God's great out-of-

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doors. There is tragedy in the fact that millions die because these are denied them. Our flocks and herds must have green pastures, but the children may die in the crowded street.

From everywhere and all around comes the cry for the better here and now world. God would have it so, for he sent his beloved Son to exemplify and fully accredit the principles by which the kingdom of human welfare can be secured. We are all taught to pray, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done, as in heaven so on the earth." Let us hasten it in our day.

CHAPTER II.
THE MINIMUM SOCIAL PROGRAM OF A
MILITANT CHRISTIANITY.

BY J. STITT WILSON.

Since the three addresses to be delivered this afternoon are almost in the nature of a symposium, it will be unnecessary to offer any lengthy general introduction. I may be permitted to enter directly into the consideration of the main theme.

WHAT IS THE ESSENCE OF CHRISTIANITY?

Leaving aside consideration of doctrines and dogmas, of rites, forms and ceremonies of the sects or schools of Christianity, let us ask what, on its human side, is the supreme religious emotion? What is the hall-mark of the essential Christian spirit? What is the feeling and disposition of the heart without which all else professedly Christian is nothing? What purpose toward our fellow-creatures is it that is essentially Christian? What is the very soul and pulse of this red stream that pours out from Calvary to all mankind? What supreme urge in the complex passions and activities of our race bears the unmistakable marks of the divine?

From Scripture, from history, from science, and from human character one simple, direct answer is forthcoming. The soul of Christianity is love to humanity. The essence of the Christ-spirit is compassionate concern for the development and welfare, the freedom and perfection of human lives. At its maximum this spirit is abandoned, selfless love that "seeketh not her own," that goes forth to seek and to save the lost, and to set at liberty them that

Social Program for a Militant Christianity

are bruised. At its minimum this spirit is a humanitarian impulse that seeks for justice and freedom and the rights of man incarnated in social institutions.

Remove the husks, the forms, the artificialities, the incidental historical accretions from this mind of Christ, and get down to the substance and reality, and we have at the least a kindly interest in the well-being of our common humanity, and at the highest a passionate devotion that lays down life even unto death for fellow-men. God is love. "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another as I have loved you." "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, that ye love one another."

Let us acknowledge that this love to humanity reaches out to the passionate longing for the eternal and uttermost salvation of human souls. *Then the measure of the value of the soul is the standard of the value of a human life.* The higher the value you give to the soul in terms of eternity, and at the gate of heaven, the more unspeakably sacred becomes that human life in time, on the earth, in the battle for bread. God is no respecter of persons or places. The scales of Deity are one for Sunday and Monday, at the altar rail, and in the steel mill or sweatshop. *The church of Christ cannot dare to make human souls so infinitely valuable on Sunday in the church and at the altar, that it beggars the wealth of heaven to redeem them, and then make them so cheap and worthless on Monday, on the highways and at the factory gates, as to leave them the pawns of an unjust social system in its mad profit-hunger.*

Let us take this love of human souls that constraineth us out into the open, out and away from everything that is ecclesiastical or ritualistic and formal, out and away from stained glass, and Gothic architecture, and pipe organs—out of the letter that killeth into the spirit that

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giveth life—let us behold these infinitely valuable souls out there as dock laborers, and railway workers, and factory hands, and members of the building and textile trades, as wandering out-of-works, hunting like wild animals for some morsel of existence.

Can we stand it to come out into the fields and by-ways where the feet of the Master and the feet of these, his brethren, tread the actual ways of life? When we have come out of our close, religious atmosphere and behold men, women, and children in the actual struggle which existence imposes, what does our love mean?

Just as we have translated our Greek New Testament into plain English words, can we translate this tender love for these infinitely sacred lives into a plain, matter-of-fact, week-day, social program for using land, and running machinery, and utilizing labor, and lending credit? Have we any Monday translation for our Sunday spirit and gospel? Have we any factory-and-mill version for our prayer-meeting passion for souls? Have we any social and industrial organization that will constitute a material expression, an incarnation of the Sermon on the Mount, the Golden Rule, and the divine love for man that radiates from Calvary?

We pray, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven" on Sunday. Can we form a social system that looks as if we meant that for all the week days? On Sunday we pray, "Give us this day our daily bread." Can we use land, labor, and machinery in such a manner from Monday to Saturday so as not to defeat the very Almighty in answering that prayer? We say, "Lord, Lord," in our places of worship. Can we "do the things which he said," in our places of business?

Is there a social program, a proposed scientific organization of our economic life, to be inaugurated by the votes

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and laws of the people, by the processes of democracy, which is the program of the Christ-spirit, executing the good will toward sacred human lives?

LOVE AND LABOR.

Keeping hot on the trail of a love that concerns itself with precious, human lives, our social program must at the very least guarantee equality of opportunity to all to use the resources and equipment of civilization, for making a living, and conversely every form of private monopoly or private administration for private profit which exploits human life or crowds human beings out of opportunity—must be abolished.

If the lives of these our brethren are as precious as the light from Calvary reveals them to be, then we must absolutely make it our first twentieth-century business to establish economic justice in the use of the land and machinery by which they get their bread. This is not a secondary or subordinate consideration; it is primary and fundamental.

The man or preacher who says he loves the souls of men, and does not love their lives sufficiently to give his voice, his influence, and his vote to establish economic justice, is faithless to the kingdom of God, and the toiling masses have long since been suspicious of that form of infidelity.

There can be no love that excludes social and economic justice. Economic justice in the equipment for getting our bread is the lowest common denominator into which we can all measure whatever Christianity we have. Any imaginary Christianity that cannot be expressed on its human side in terms of social and economic justice, is vain or is some delusion of superstition. It is not the truth or love of the Carpenter of Galilee, who came de-

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living slaves, preaching good news to the poor, and setting at liberty them that are bruised.

Organized Christianity must seek to so revolutionize our commercial and economic life as to guarantee to each and to all of the people the material and physical conditions in which we can live free and happy and emancipated human lives on all planes—physical, mental, moral, and spiritual.

The present system of industry—known in economics as capitalism—is the very negation of the whole Christ-spirit and program. In basis, in process, and outcome it is a denial of the spirit and teaching of Christ. Capitalism in its universal gamble with the equipment and products of civilization, for mere private profit, and its corresponding exploitation, and actual enslavement of human beings, is a modern anti-Christ. Destructive criticism of our present system has about done its work. I need only sum up in a few phrases the indictment as a background for the constructive program.

CAPITALISM ANALYZED AND IMPEACHED.

Under capitalism the five great factors in bread-getting are exploited for private profit; that is to say, land, machinery, products, labor, and money (or credit).

1. Land, the mother of us all, the source of all wealth, the recipient of all labor, is gambled with, speculated with, and monopolized and kept out of use for the sake of the rise of values and the unearned increment, until human beings have nowhere to lay their heads, no place to build a home, no place to expend their labor.

Our present system of private monopoly, private speculation, and private control of land and land values, is nothing short of a legalized crime. It is immoral, unscriptural, unchristian, inhuman, anti-social, and anarch-

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ical—the mother of a whole spawn of social miseries and tragedies.

2. Machinery, the gift of human genius, the awful titan that produces wealth as if by miracle, is now privately owned and run for private profit by the lords of industry. The very men that make and run this machinery are reduced to bondage, dependence, and slavery as this master product, industrial machinery, passes from the hand that creates to the hand that owns. Modern mechanical equipment makes men slaves. It is intended, under truth and justice, to make men free.

3. Labor applied to this magic machinery in transforming natural resources, produces a super-abundance, an almost limitless flood of products for human satisfaction. But this volume of things and products is seized upon by our commercial masters and traded with for profit, and profit only. Coal, iron, gas, electric power, water power, grain, cotton, lumber, tools, clothing, food-stuffs—everything is open to the profit-carnival, and to the monopolist, so that it actually turns out that the more we can produce in the shortest time, the sooner multitudes of people are thrown idle on the labor market, unable to buy the very things their own hands have created in such abundance.

4. This private property without limit in the land, the machinery, and the products of labor, and the universal gamble in these, inevitably exploits, robs, defrauds, and enslaves the people—the vast, common multitude—the working classes.

The inevitable outcome is that labor—the muscle, skill, brain, and energy of men, women, and children—is gambled with. There is little concern as to whether the human being shall be guaranteed a chance to make his bread

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and be secure in the full product of his labor. That is the last consideration.

And thus these human lives, these human souls, whom we profess to love, in the name of Christ, are sacrificed to the grossest, crudest materialism on the altar of profit to the untold enrichment of the privileged classes.

5. When we add to the indictment the fact that the power of credit, one of the most tremendous forces in the human society, is also left in private hands to be used at will for private profit—is it any wonder that in a civilization where nature and invention and skill is at a maximum of marvelous power to yield wealth and abundance, the poverty of the people should become the curse of our generation, while “wealth sits a monster gorged midst hungry populations.”

This system is an evil and corrupt tree, and cannot bring forth good fruit. No reform, no philanthropy, no charity, no individualistic, personal religion that ignores social justice can reach this hurt of the people. The axe must be laid to the root of the tree.

As rapidly as intelligence and good will can act, this system must be overthrown and a social system based upon social justice, economic freedom, and simple human brotherhood must now take its place. This social revolution, now impending, will be the supreme world-drama of the twentieth century.

This social revolution is the fulfillment of that prophecy that nations shall be born in a day. This social revolution is the coming of the full corn in the ear. It is a grand tip of the beam of time to the “far-off divine event toward which the whole creation moves.”

THE MINIMUM PROGRAM.

Against this background of social injustice of the present system, we present the outlines of the minimum pro-

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gram. By presenting the program briefly and simply, it will not be lost in a multiplicity of detail, and will remain more vividly in the mind. We shall follow the order of our criticism of capitalism.

1. Land. The minimum demand of social justice on the land question is the taxation of the full, unearned increment of land values, in order to break up land monopoly and land speculation.

Wherever people aggregate, there are social or common values created in the site on which they aggregate that would never arise except for the association of men in communities. This increase in site values is not due to the skill, capital, labor, or foresight of any individual. These values are an outgrowth of man's life as a social or communal being. His physical labors, his intellectual achievements, and his moral co-operations as a social being in the vicinity of any site on the earth, create social values at that site, and at a radius therefrom, that should accrue to no individual. Such site values or social values are socially created.

Since the association of men in communities creates social needs, which government must supply, and since the same association of men creates values that no individual creates, therefore, *these land values thus created are the legitimate, scientific, and just source of all revenues to meet all civic and social needs.*

Such taxation of the unearned increment of land values would secure the average man in a home or farm or ranch. It would force into use all available lands. Production would increase enormously and the inflated fortunes now arising from the almost diabolical land dealing would be impossible.

Add to this the national or social ownership of arable lands and socially-used areas, just as we own the great

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national parks and national forests, of such vast areas as can be cultivated and developed on a large scale, as national, state, or municipal undertakings, and we have a land policy that removes this one first gift of God to man from the domain of mere private greed and exploitation. *Here is the first imperative plank of a Christian program for human freedom.*

2. Machinery. Coming to the realm of industry, a penny postage stamp may be taken as the symbol of a Christian social policy. Our postal system, including now the parcel post, is conducted by the people, for the people, on principles of public welfare, universal good will, and democracy. If we add a more democratic organization of the employees, and of their work, in spirit and policy, this is the direction of a Christian system.

The people in various countries now own and collectively administer schools, water works, street railways, docks and harbors, railways, telegraphs, telephones, etc. Once entered upon, this policy is never forsaken. San Francisco buys a short street railway, and so successful does it prove that the city at once extends the line, and seriously contemplates municipal ownership of its entire street railway system.

This collectivism extends the domain of the wealth that is common. It lessens and limits the wealth of the plutocracy, and it tends to secure the necessary private individual wealth while cutting the arteries of huge private fortunes made out of public utilities. Such public ownership is thus a defense against private property for the hand that creates it.

PRIVATE PROPERTY.

Roughly speaking, there are three kinds of ownership of property. There is the ownership of purely personal

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property, such as home, furniture, clothing, books, personal income, and purchases therefrom for personal and family use—in short, all the necessities, comforts, and even satisfactions of life. This kind of private ownership should be defended and conserved, and indeed we should aim to make every individual and every family secure in the ownership of these things and the labor necessary to obtain them.

A second kind of private property is the natural savings that normal prudence and thrift and foresight lay aside for future use. Such private property, as a reserve against emergencies, should be preserved to all. We should seek to increase it and secure it against the private looting now proceeding so respectably in financial circles.

But there is a third kind of private property that should become public property—that is, property in the most important means of production, or equipment of large scale industry. At least the most efficiently organized industries should become public property. This is the kind of property that is used to rob, exploit, and enslave the people, and actually to deny the workers any considerable degree of the necessary, personal, private property or private savings, while enriching beyond the dreams of avarice the owners of these industries.

The collective ownership and control of this kind of property will end the present capitalistic domination of human life. A one-cent postage stamp may symbolize the idea and preach this program.

With abolition of land monopoly and private control of large scale industry and the products of labor for private profit, and the security of the state for the savings of the people, human labor and human life will be emancipated from economic dependence and economic servitude. The evils, the industrial tragedies, the social hells of our pres-

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ent system will be abolished. The next great stage of human freedom—industrial and economic freedom—will be added to the religious and political freedoms already attained.

The new era will present new strifes, new aristocracies, new aims, new goals, but other generations unborn will face the problems arising therein. Ours is the glorious task of completing the physical emancipation of the race, and launching our children and children's children upon an age of social and economic brotherhood in which we believe the fair flowers of intellectual and spiritual beauty will bloom as never before in this garden of the Lord.

FINAL APPEAL FOR ACTION.

In presenting this minimum social program for a militant Christianity, it is not necessary to abate our zeal for the salvation of souls. Any theology that proceeds on the basis that a human being is more sacred than the profit that is made out of his blood and labor, will do; and any honest zeal for souls may afford enough simple regard for human beings to rescue them from the devouring maw of the mammon gods of capitalism.

I therefore make this appeal: That in the name of Him who died for men, we incorporate into the radius of Christian passion, purpose and program, an intelligent, aggressive, and militant attack on the present social order, not upon its evil fruits with petty reforms, but on its basic roots and principles, with constructive political and social programs, for its abolition.

One whole quarter of a century has now passed in which the church should have been in the van, in the social movement. The church should have been the champion and deliverer of the poor, and the toilers in the past twenty-five years, in which private individuals and cor-

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porations have systematically and under the ægis of law robbed and defrauded and degraded the masses. There has been no eye to pity, no arm to save.

Now, therefore, as the profit-hunger of the plutocracy becomes more insatiable, and the iron heel of the privileged classes becomes more ruthless ; now, as the masses are beginning to awake from political deception and moral stupor ; now, as the simple program of social ownership of wealth-producing equipment begins to be seen as the new principle of a world's freedom, it is the duty of the preachers of the gospel of the lowly Carpenter to renounce their allegiance and moral support of the capitalist system, as men once before renounced their support to the system of chattel slavery.

Even this late, as the battle grows fierce, between man and mammon, the church should come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, unjust Goliaths of capitalism, the anarchs of plutocracy.

We should repent of our past spiritual neglect that has allowed the monstrous social injustice to grow to such awful proportions. We should lay down our lives for the sheep and deliver the people from the economic injustice that devours them.

Think of the number of the preachers of the gospel, of their ramifying influence in all the cities and villages, and into the homes of the people ! Think of the immense force of talent and ability of the ministry ! Think of the tremendous physical and material equipment, which the people have paid for out of their earnings, which are in possession of the church, in the shape of lands, and church buildings, and schools !

Just ponder for a moment, what a world upheaval would result if the power of the pulpit and the church was ranged on the side of overthrowing this unchristian

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system of capitalism, and of establishing economic justice.

Think of the new thrill of hope that would stir the hearts of the masses if the tremendous moral and spiritual machinery of the church were a menace to the rule and ruin of the profit-mongers! Think of the tremendous religious revival of genuine Christianity that would result from such a stand.

The church wonders what is the matter; why she is losing her hold on the masses; why she is so powerless to stem the tide of materialism and mammonism. Here is your secret. Let the church show a solid front to the fundamental injustices of the present social order; let the church stand forth as the champion of the poor against economic oppression; let the church preach the teachings of Jesus, and point out their social application on the field of labor and industry, and the greatest moral and spiritual awakening the world has ever known will break forth. But let the church continue to give any kind of moral backing to the present system and she will become a hissing and a by-word among men, and will be found in the end apostate to the Christ.

All this effort and program for economic justice should not be a side issue, an incident, something to turn the church away from the mind of Christ, but the most natural, normal, sane, and simple outpouring of the spirit of Him who was moved with compassion on the multitudes, and whom the ruling class of his day put to death as an interrupter of their ruthless disregard of human lives.

Take the substance and spirit and general trend of this minimum social program, and I believe you have the next grand wave conquest of the Christ-spirit in human history.

“Stand, thou, where all the brave of ages stood,
Help mold the brotherhood.”

CHAPTER III.

WOMAN AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

BY EDWARD ARTHUR WICHER.

One of the most conspicuous features of the social life of our time is the movement among women in behalf of women. It is at once the result of a profound social movement in the recent past, and the promise of a more wide-reaching movement in the immediate future. It is probably the most significant of all the social signs of our times. From the side of industry, it is the assertion of the desire of women for a more independent economic status. From the point of view of the interest of the state, it is the assertion that democracy is not complete until women have a voice in the laws by which both men and women are to be governed. It is indeed also an assertion that women cannot be fully represented by men, however intelligent and sympathetic these men may be; that there are some things important to the well-being of the race, that no man ever sees or ever can see; that the state needs the work of women for the solving of some of its most important problems, such as the final abolition of war, and the suppression of the liquor traffic and its attendant evils.

The very fact that such a movement exists is evidence that the emancipation of women is practically already effected. They are now able to cause their voice to be heard in every legislative hall and committee room of the nation. Every political leader is careful of the influence of the women's clubs.

Now, all the aims of the feminist movement may be good and sound. It is not within the scope of the present

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address to discuss directly any of these matters. They are merely stated in order to show the importance of the subject. But for Christian men and women, eager to realize the will of God in a Christian state, it is evident that there can be no solution of the problem of the place of woman without a reference to the teaching and practice of the New Testament. And in anything so fundamental to the right of humanity and the truth of religion as the proper conception of the duty and happiness of woman, we shall not interrogate our sacred Scriptures in vain. We shall find, if not specific directions for the settlement of each separate problem, at least such general principles as shall lay down the lines of a harmonious social structure, and help us to determine the appropriate answer in a multitude of details.

I. The Status of Woman in the Ancient World.

In antiquity the Hebrews, and in a lesser degree the Teutons and Saxons, had a pre-eminence in their treatment of woman. But in general among the ancient nations, both Oriental and Occidental, the condition of womankind, both in law and custom, seems to have been one of abject degradation. Her station was always much lower than that of man; she was looked upon either as his slave, or as the manager of his household arrangements. In particular it does not seem to have occurred to men before the Christian era that a woman could be capable of the holiest and noblest emotions, or that she could be inspired to truly great deeds and sacrifices.

In every early state the parents, according to their own pleasure, disposed of the hands and hearts of their daughters, who were married to men who had never wooed them, or even consulted them about the matter. Love was not the motive for entering into the relation of husband and wife, but a man purchased with money a woman for

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a wife. The consequence was that she was brought into entire subjection to her husband. In general, the law-givers of the ancient world did but little to mitigate the condition of women. In Babylonia, where the status of woman was freer and higher than in any previous state, this statement still holds true. The blood rights of the head man of the house over all the women of the house are presupposed. The legal enactments were intended to make secure the position of the husband, in all his customary rights, over against the blood rights of the male kindred of his wife. Among all Oriental nations, polygamy was an established institution.

In Egypt, the perfection of the development of art coincided with the degradation of Egyptian morals. The women of Egypt were constantly watched in order to prevent them from being immoral, and according to all Egyptian tradition, they were grossly immoral. They were entirely without education, and were taught nothing except to make themselves seductive to their husbands. The low view held by men of women always reacts upon the men themselves; and in such a society the high chivalry of noble manhood and the tender constancy of pure womanhood are alike impossible.

Among the Greeks, even in Homeric times, dependence upon man was the abiding lot of woman. She was first in subjection to her father, who had absolute power over her, and after she was married, she passed under the law of her husband, whose power was also absolute. And yet in the heroic age of Greece a large measure of personal freedom of movement was allowed to the women of the household, which was afterwards denied them. Thus we find such noble women as Alcestia, Andromache, and Penelope, in whom the ancient dignity of the Indo-Germanic race come to its finest expression before the

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advent of Christianity. And yet even these were not free. Penelope was a prisoner in her own house; and every widow whose husband had been slain in battle, became the prize of the victor. Those highest in the society of the Homeric age were not exempt, as Hector laments when taking leave of his wife, Andromache.

But in the period of the florescence of Attic art and Hellenic power, there had been a sad degradation of family life from the simplicity and confidence of the Homeric age. Perhaps the Greece of Pericles was too close to the shores of Asia. Or can it be that the Persians, whom the Greeks had defeated at Marathon, had in their turn overcome the earlier social ideas of their conquerors? If so, Greece soon paid the penalty. For the brief, glorious age of Pericles, which had risen upon the joy and inspiration of her resistance to the Asiatic tyrant, passed away because she had succumbed to the vices of an Asiatic harem. In the historic age of Greece, the condition of women was not very different from what it had been in the kingdom of Babylon and Nineveh. The one duty required of wives was that they be the mothers of legitimate children; while the system of keeping hetæræ supplied the lack of female society at the public feasts of the men. Under such conditions, one certainly could not speak of marriage as a holy institution, based on love and fidelity.

One great source of degradation to womankind among ancient peoples was the sensuality of religion itself. Multitudes of women were prostituted in the honor of the deity. The places of worship were often the scenes of unbridled lust. Thebes in Egypt, Patara in Asia Minor, the groves of Daphne near Antioch, the rock-crowned citadel of Corinth, are a few of the sacred places made famous by their licentiousness. And the price of shame flowed into the treasuries of the temple.

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Another source of wrong was deeply rooted in the fact that the women of all classes who could afford the custom, were deprived of almost all freedom of action. They were shut in by walls and regulations.

Among the Roman people, the treatment of women, especially in the early period of the republic, before the Romans passed under the influence of the Greeks and the eastern nations, was finer and higher than among other peoples. But here, too, in the eyes of the law, she was under a perpetual tutelage. When she passed from under the authority of her father, it was only to go under that of her husband. Or, in the case of the death of her father while she was still unmarried, under the authority of her nearest male relative. In India, the ancient system still survives, the system of the primitive Indo-Germanic tribe; and even the Hindu widow frequently becomes the ward of her son.

But one advantage the woman of classical antiquity had over the woman of the Orient. She was not required to share her place of honor with another wife. Monogamy had the sanction of law and custom both in Greece and Rome. But in both Greece and Rome, marriage was an institution framed in the interest of the state.

II. Status of Woman Among the Hebrew People.

All the social relations of the Hebrews were permeated with the spirit of their religion. Purity of the inner life, deliverance from the slavery of the senses, the consecration and sacrifice of the whole being unto God—these were the high aims which the Torah set before the confessors of Jehovah. Such a religion could not fail to find within its teaching some place for womankind.

Upon the women of Israel there was not laid any such slavish burden as upon the women of Assyria, Babylonia,

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Phœnicia, or any related people. She was by no means a creature of will-less subjection.

As we consider the narrative of the creation of woman, contained in Genesis 2: 20-22, we see already in this story the features of a higher ideal of womankind. Here the Lord God said, "I will make an helpmeet for him," that is to correspond to him. Among all God's works of creation, woman is the only one who, both in bodily and spiritual powers, answers wholly unto man. She corresponds to him, she reciprocates his entire higher life, she is his other self. Therefore it follows of necessity that the place of woman, in reference to man, is not one of slavish inferiority, but one of entire equality of personality with him. Her existence, her worth, her thought, are co-ordinate with his, and ends of equal importance.

On the other side, the Mosaic narrative describes the woman as the helpmeet of the man. The sphere of her calling does not lie outside of that of the man, also not above or below that of the man. Both are linked together in the innermost relations. The wife is called upon to share, with fidelity and intelligence, the burden of care of her husband; she must take her place by his side as the gentle and loving guide of his upward way. From this word "helpmeet," there streams a ray of light down the long page of Israel's history.

But unhappily in New Testament times, in Palestine, we find the same disintegrating influences at work upon the life of the home as we find in the corrupt centers of population of Greece and Rome. The laxity of divorce was quite as striking as among the Gentiles.

III. The Change Which Jesus is Making in the World's Conception of Woman.

It is true that Jesus did not attack directly those social customs which had pressed the publican and sinner into

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lives of infamy and shame. That he did not do so was in harmony with the whole plan of his ministry. Not that he was indifferent to these, or any, social wrongs; but he took the higher way in dealing with them. He imparted eternal principles of justice and truth which would work from within outwards, and rectify the specific evils of the world. The Friend of Mary Magdalene gave to the world a gospel of infinite tenderness and purity, that would work and move until all wrong should be redressed and all iniquity purged away in the advent of the kingdom of God.

Many of the profoundest self-revelations that Jesus had to give were made to women, sometimes even to women who had sinned.

As we study the narratives of Christ's dealing with women there emerge the greater principles of his kingdom. We should thoughtfully ponder his relations with his mother, Mary, with the household of Martha and Mary, with the Samaritan woman at the well, with the sinful women who gathered around him for cleansing and instruction.

Let us group our thoughts for a moment around one typical incident in the life of our Lord. When he spoke to the Samaritan woman at the well, she asked him, "How is it that thou, being a Jew, askest drink of me who am a woman of Samaria?" In this narrative there were three amazing situations: He was a Jew, and he talked with a Samaritan. He was a man and he talked with a woman. He was a religious teacher and he talked with a sinful woman. His conduct was revolutionary. No self-respecting Jew would have any dealings with a Samaritan. No man would think of entering into a serious discussion with a woman.

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Christ abolished the distinction between man and woman as responsible human beings in the sight of God and of his church. So far as concerns the Jewish religion of the synagogue in New Testament times, woman had no place in the synagogue, just as she has no place in the mosque to-day. It required ten adult males to organize a synagogue, and women and children did not count. It remained for Jesus to receive women into the holiest, most intimate relations of religion. Still in the Jews' Morning Prayer, the congregation stand and thank God, in three successive benedictions, "That thou hast not caused me to be born a Gentile; that thou hast not caused me to be born a slave; that thou hast not caused me to be born a woman." Over against this we may set the words of St. Paul, "There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female; for ye are all one man in Christ Jesus."

CHAPTER IV.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

BY THOMAS W. BUTCHER.

The present educational unrest in America is due in large measure to an economic change through which we are passing as a result of the disappearance forever of our western lands. An increasing population must have an outlet; without it the weak perish, only the strong survive. For centuries England has used her colonies for this purpose; Holland has used the East Indies and has drained her own lakes as an outlet for her surplus population; Germany has used the slogan, "Made in Germany," to open opportunities for her congested population.

Like any other stream, the stream of humanity flows in the direction of least resistance. For our own people, we have always had unoccupied lands. When a community became crowded, the young men went West and established homes on our public lands. If our western lands could have lasted another hundred years, the economic change through which we are now passing would not have come until the next century. Agriculture, as conducted on new land, required no technical training; the schools were free to offer such instruction as they would, with no one to question their work, for untrained labor could always go out West. With our western lands gone and the pick and shovel in the hands of the Greek, the Italian, and the Mexican, untrained American labor finds no market, and condemnation falls upon the schools. A system of education, rarely questioned for a hundred years, is

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assailed by newspaper, magazine, and public speaker because it fails to do what it has never done, provide its product with the means of earning a living. Unconsciously the public is demanding that the schools create a new "out West." This will be done through the conversion of the products of the earth into new forms of economic goods; there is no escape from it, we are to become a manufacturing people and the cry for a training of the hand will not cease. Here we find an explanation for the outcry against the school curriculum as the men and women of this audience knew it, and here we find the basis for the whole manual movement in America.

Most revolts go too far; they become destructive of good as well as of evil. This one threatens to leave little in the school curriculum that does not give training which can be sold for dollars and cents. Communities and States invest money in education for protection and for profit; protection because ignorance and lawlessness are almost synonymous terms, profit because through the development of its citizens the State increases its own strength and resources. If only protection were sought, the State might safely require nothing of the schools beyond a solution of the bread-and-butter problem, for it is the contented citizen who is the safe citizen, and the man who can support himself and those dependent upon him is usually a contented citizen.

Like individuals, the State must have more than a safe investment; it must have an investment that returns a profit—a positive profit—one that gives back to the State something more than a contented citizenship, important as such a citizenship is. We must never forget that one of the large functions of the public school is to discover to the individual and to the State, talent that might otherwise have remained undiscovered. The Standard Oil

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Company has prospectors out at all times looking for new fields, the baseball manager has his scouts out every season looking for new men. The public school should always be prospecting and scouting for the State. The mental and spiritual gifts of every mind should be discovered. Every talent of every citizen in the State increases its wealth. When a Babcock gives, without patent, a milk tester to the dairymen of his State, he adds so much to the wealth of his State; when a college professor discovers that a current of electricity will thaw a frozen, underground pipe, he makes a contribution to the wealth of his State; equally true it is that when a teacher in the public schools discovers in a pupil a talent for literature or music or art, she adds to the wealth of her State. Wealth does not consist of things alone. The paintings of an Abbey, the poems of a Field, the soul of a John Brown—these are wealth without which the nation would be poorer than if she lost the contributions of a Burbank or an Edison.

We hear a good deal these days about the practical in education. Republics must have leaders and these leaders must come from the ranks of the common people; there is no other course. The American school can offer no more practical course than one that has for its purpose the discovery and development of leadership. I have somewhere read that England's investment in the Suez Canal pays twenty per cent. If Eaton and Oxford had cost a thousand times what they did cost, and Gladstone had been their only product, the investment in those schools would have paid better than the investment in the Suez Canal. The schools must help to solve the bread-and-butter problem, but they must never lose sight of the fact that a love of the beautiful, and courage, and unselfishness, and leadership, and kindness of heart, and human

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character are the highest forms of wealth. Why not all of these in some degree for the laborer and the mechanic? In the top gallery of the Royal Opera House, in Berlin, I have seen the German laborer, leaning out from his badly-located seat or standing, music in hand, following the score during a production of "Siegfried," or "Tannhauser," or "Rhinegold." I have seen him with his family, as he wandered through the art galleries of the city, feasting his eyes upon the treasures stored there. Is he not a better and therefore a safer man because in the public school he learned to love good music and good art, instead of the ragtime of a hurdy-gurdy and the gaudy chromo of some advertising concern? What matters it if this man does work in a ditch? Does he not at times enter realms which the mere physical can never enter, and, by reason of that fact does he not know better the content of the word "manhood," and the word "Fatherland"? His feet are in the ditch, but his spirit is not there, and if he lived in America, his spirit would some day lift his feet out of that ditch. A man's occupation counts for little in a republic, so long as his occupation be an honorable one. We do not classify men according to their occupations. Manhood is the basis of our classification, and the public schools should see to it that the man who works in the mine or who digs in the ditch shall catch a tip-toe glimpse of things which lie beyond the borders of his physical needs.

When you ask the average man what change he would make in the school curriculum, he tells you he would like to go back to the old-time school which taught only the common branches and gave a boy a secure foundation upon which to build. This average man has forgotten how poorly he spelled when he came out of school, and how little, outside of the text-book, he knew about arith-

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metic.. Lists of questions in spelling and arithmetic given in Springfield, Massachusetts, and Cleveland, Ohio, forty to sixty years ago, have been given in recent years to children of the same age, and the results published. The children of to-day spell better and know more arithmetic than did the children of half a century ago. Measured by the standards of to-day, the schools have never given a solution to the bread-and-butter problem. The fact that they did not solve the problem was not brought home to us until competition became sharp and the untrained boy found no market for his labor except where the ignorant foreigner offers his labor for sale.

We are not going back to the old-time school. It gave neither vocational training nor a well-balanced development of the mind; it gave little culture. It did give the pupil, in a crude way, a few of the simplest tools needed in the field of knowledge, but it did not teach him how to use them. We shall have neither the old school nor the present school, but we shall never wholly cast aside either one. Omitting the trade schools, which America has not yet developed, our schools offer substantially the same courses offered throughout the civilized world. These courses represent the accumulated thought along educational lines of the best minds of the centuries, and I, for one, am unwilling to cast them ruthlessly aside; they represent the thought of Lowell, and Garfield, and Angell, and Eliot, and Wilson, and a host of other scarcely less illustrious Americans. Is it not possible that too much reading of the magazines has made us mad? It is high time that some man with authority to speak, stand up and shout, "Stop! let us sit down and think the whole matter over. Modification and adaptation, not revolution, is what we need."

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The city of Gary has a message for all of us, and that message is, "Work out your own problem." The Gary idea is suited to every city and every community in the United States, the Gary course of study is suited to few cities or communities in the United States. As communities as a whole differ, so individuals within a community differ. Not every boy and girl should learn a trade, and not every boy and girl should go to college. Beyond the mere rudiments, courses for boys and girls should be widely different except where they are to enter and remain in the same occupation or profession. The course of study has sinned, not against the whole school population, but against the boy who is going into industrial or business life, and against the girl who is going into the home. That the schools have sinned against these two large classes is apparent to most of us. The repeated attempts of the coeducational colleges and women's colleges of the country to show an incredulous public that they are preparing their girls to become wives and mothers only serve to indicate that they themselves believe proofs other than the products of the schools are needed. But now that the boy who is to become a mechanic or a merchant is to receive attention in the school course and special training is to be given to the girl who is to occupy the most exalted position ever attained by a woman—the head place in a home—it does not follow that the entire curriculum of the present-day school should be abandoned. If we are not swept completely off our feet by this movement toward the practical, we shall probably be able to see that the old courses should be kept and the new ones added—that the training offered in the schools should be as varied as are the occupations and talents of humanity.

In this connection there is one fact that must not be overlooked; schools offering varied courses are expensive

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and schools offering a single course of study are inexpensive. Many of the courses which the new education is recognizing in the school curriculum are demanded by the public because these courses are no longer offered in the home. Within the memory of people in this audience, the clothing of entire families was made in the home from wool as it came from the back of the sheep. The shoes for the family, the harness for the horses and yoke for the oxen were made and mended in the home. Soap and hominy were made, fruit canned, meat cured, carpets woven—all in the home. The children learned to do all of these things as well as to make their own toys. The modern home has turned all of this important training over to the schools. If the new school costs more money than the old—and it does cost more money—the home is to blame, not the school.

The school of the future in America must not only offer a wide range of courses, but it must parallel these courses sufficiently to make it possible for a student to change from one kind of school to another without serious loss of time. In a country like Germany, where class lines are definitely drawn, the demand for parallel courses does not exist, but in a republic it must always be made easy for a student to change his line of work when his unfolding powers give him a new vision of life's possibilities. Since this vision may not come to him until years after he has left the school, it is important that his school course be somewhat more than technical.

Much is being made of the play instinct of the child. Systems of education have been worked out by which a child may take his entire school course without performing a single disagreeable task, the assumption being that all of his work may be organized and presented in such a way as to make him really enjoy it. At first glance,

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such a system would seem to be wanting in nothing, but upon closer examination we are inclined to doubt its efficiency in the development of character. I have never been quite able in my educational creed to get away from a motto which a teacher of mine kept on her blackboard month after month—"Strength is born of struggle." Strength may be born of other things, but this teacher evidently did not think so, for she never mentioned any source but struggle. As the years have passed, I have found myself agreeing with her. I have observed that the boy whose indulgent parents have made everything easy for him, is a weakling. He really works at nothing. He plays at an occupation until the novelty is gone and then he leaves it. He lives with the woman he marries until her physical beauty begins to wane, and then he deserts her. Duty may be in his vocabulary, but it is not and can never be in his character, for the only way to make duty a part of a man's character is to work it into his life while his character is forming. Patterns are sometimes stamped upon cheap grades of cloth after the cloth is woven, but the patterns in a Persian rug are woven in as the rug is made. Strength is born of struggle, and any system of education that leaves the disagreeable wholly out, that has no place for hard work, that fails to teach the unselfishness which the word "duty" implies, is not only weak, but vicious. I like the definition of education given by Thomas Huxley, "A training that gives to a man the ability to do the thing he ought to do when it ought to be done, regardless of whether he feels like doing it or not."

The world has too many people who are trying to get something for nothing—people who are respectable gamblers. Such people seek to make their way through the world on their wits. They are never willing to pay the

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full price of the things they want. We find them in the schools. They seek easy methods, easy courses, short courses. Backed by their parents, they ask to be excused from mathematics or science—work in any department which they find difficult. Certain educational authorities of the day have responded to this demand and declare that there is nothing in formal training—that a student derives benefit from those branches of study, only, which he expects to use—that training in a given field does not carry over into another field except in so far as the two fields have elements in common. Within limits, there is logic in this contention, but the evil growing out of the theory is the one I have just described, that of avoiding all the time the drudgery of school work. It is an exaggerated form of the play idea. If I were to ask the men of this audience what, in their experience, made the greatest contribution to the power they now possess, I fancy that most of them would say, “Drudgery.” The chief difference between success and failure lies in men’s capacity to endure the disagreeable, the drudgery of life. Mere drudgery of itself, avails nothing, but the drudgery that is inseparably connected with the every-day tasks of every man is always potent. In every man’s life there come dark days, dark years—years in which he feels that he is not going forward at all. This is the point at which the weakling fails. He changes his occupation or he quits. But the strong man goes on, knowing that the stream of his life is only temporarily checked, that the floods are gathering and that a break must come. From these weaklings I have just described come the malcontents of society. These are the men, who, in middle life and old age rail at the success of men about them. They demand an article for which they never paid, and when they do not get it they join the hosts of the discontented and insist

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upon revolutionizing the whole political organism. The theory that the world owes any man a living is dangerously false. With our western lands gone, our population increasing rapidly, the law of diminishing returns operating in our mining and agricultural regions, the struggle in America will inevitably become fiercer and the army of the discontented will increase. It is a mistake to suppose that the army of the unemployed is kept up in a different way from other armies. It has its recruiting stations in homes and school-rooms throughout the land. The state cannot reach the home, but it can reach the school. Compulsory attendance laws have never been enforced in America. If the men in America who are today idle, had received two more years of schooling, thousands of them would be employed and other thousands would have savings upon which to live. Ignorance, idleness, and improvidence are three giants which have stalked together through the earth in all ages, leaving suffering and ruin in their path. Sometimes I have thought that what a child studies is not so important after all. The important thing is that he learn to study—that he learn to work—that he learn to do the necessary drudgery of life. Let the schools make the work offered attractive, let them help every child find his place in the world and equip him for filling it, but let them never cease to work into the lives of our children the feeling that towering above all human skill, above all of the accomplishments of genius, all appreciation of the beautiful, all ministrations to the physical needs of the race, is that something that makes the captain of the crew, and the operator at his post, sending out the "S. O. S.," the last men to leave the sinking ship. We may eliminate the disagreeable from a boy's school course, but we cannot eliminate the

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disagreeable from his after life if that life is to be lived out where the world's work is done.

The citizens of a republic lack discipline. Always eager to make laws, they are seldom vigilant in their enforcement. The citizen of a republic is an individualist. He does not like restraint. In the last analysis he wants to do pretty much as he pleases. If there is not a way around the law, and there usually is, he ignores it or sets about to have it repealed. He is not so much interested in what is good for the whole people as he is interested in what he thinks is good for him.

In monarchies, the individual is taught in the home and in the school to subordinate his personal interests to those of the whole people as represented by the government. In republics, generally and in our own especially, this teaching is neglected. Unconsciously the spirit of selfishness is taught. America has the only complete, free, public-school system in the world. Other nations have only worked out in part the problem of educating at public expense the whole people. In America the state owns the schools—the state determines what the instruction shall be. The fathers intended that the schools should, first of all, contribute directly to the strength of the state by giving preparation for citizenship. In the years we have drifted away from this idea. In no schools in the civilized world is the word "sacrifice" less used, is the spirit of loyalty less taught than in our own schools. There is not a school in America, outside of West Point and Annapolis, which has for its purpose the training of the student for service to the Government. We have erroneously assumed that the ability to think and the skill necessary to earn a living constitute good citizenship. Citizenship, we have said, is a by-product. The greatest lesson ever learned in this world is the lesson of obedi-

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ence. The freest man is the man who obeys the most laws—the laws of his government, the laws of God. America does not teach this lesson in the home or in the school. The spectacle of a boy in knee pants leaving school because things have not gone to suit him can be witnessed only in America. A strike in the upper grades or in the high school with a committee of students treating with the Board of Education is American. The admission by parents to every school man in the land that they cannot control their children who are yet in knee pants and short dresses, is American—wholly American. Good citizenship can never come from such sources. The schools must insist upon obedience if they insist upon nothing else. There must be authority even in a republic. Lack of it is the rock upon which republics in all ages have gone to pieces. They have lacked coherence, solidarity. The United States is no exception to the rule. Our wide extent of territory, east and west, north and south, gives us conflicting industrial and commercial interests. We are a nation of nationalities. Races which throughout the centuries have been in conflict across the seas are attempting to live side by side in America. History teaches us that the nations which have stood the test of the centuries have had solidarity of interest, solidarity of race. The cohesive force of loyalty to country has held them bound together. Let America learn this lesson, and through her public schools bind together the conflicting, the centrifugal, forces of this republic.

Social progress through education demands an enriched course of study, not a new course of study. The school must help to put meaning into the words "Made in the United States," for we are to become a manufacturing people. It must have always in mind the complete development of the whole man—every power, every

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gift, every possibility of his life that will increase his usefulness to society. It must continue to give culture. It must teach the dignity of honest toil, but above all else, social progress demands that the school shall give to the state an intelligent and useful citizenship.

CHAPTER V.
COMMERCIALIZED VICE AND SOCIAL
PROGRESS.

BY DR. KATE WALLER BARRETT.

I am very much pleased indeed to speak to you this afternoon. I am pleased to be here and to take a part in such a great social congress, and to represent in it a phase of work which I think has shown as much progress as any, and that is the elimination of commercialized vice. I have the privilege of being the president of the Florence Crittenden Mission, which has seventy-five homes for girls, and also of being the representative of the United States Government to look after and care for alien girls who may be brought here at this time in order that they may be present during the exposition.

It is almost impossible, as we look about us to-day, to realize how much has been accomplished and what wonderful things have been done. I cannot help smiling when I think of the characteristic attitude of many people toward this work; how ignorant and how unscientific, and how anxious they have been to help; and how emotional and sentimental they have often been. We have an example in the great interest awakened by the question of the White Slave Traffic, and the laws in regard to it. Now we are beginning to understand that a good deal of the movement has been ineffective because of the appeal to sentiment rather than facts, and as one of the older workers in the movement, I can honestly say that I am glad that the wave of sentiment has gone by, and that we

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have now reached the point where we can do something constructive and practical.

Do you realize that to-day there are hardly ten cities in the United States of over one hundred thousand inhabitants, which have a segregated district? All the others have been eliminated, and where they have not, there are movements on foot to take steps to eliminate them. It is almost impossible to realize that it has been such a few years, because, when I used to travel from city to city, there was hardly a place where I went where they did not have a segregated district. There was one in every city of any size. And this segregated district was continued, not merely by the evil men and women of the city, not only by the vicious elements, by those who used it, but by the intelligent men and women who had arrived at the conclusion that this was the only way that the social evil could be dealt with, and so the law breakers were separated. The greatest difficulty has been with the business element in the community. They did not believe that this element could be eliminated, and there are still many good men and women who will say to you that it is better to segregate vice rather than scatter it throughout the community.

I want to say to you, as I have always said to every group of men and women like you, that if there is no other solution except segregation or scattering, that you need a new set of city officials, and new ideas in your city. If the laws are not enforced, you had better get rid of your officials and get somebody that will enforce them. Yet for many years this was the attitude even of intelligent officials.

Not long ago there was a commission appointed in the District of Columbia, and as I live near there, and am in touch with conditions in the city there, I went to one

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of these commissioners, a man who stood very high in the community, and in philanthropic and social activities. I went to see him with a group of ladies, asking that the segregated district in Washington should be done away with, and he sat there in his magnificent office, behind his splendid desk, and looked at me and said: "Mrs. Barrett, you are very familiar with conditions in Washington; what would you suggest that I do with these girls? Where could they live? Could you suggest any policy that would be practical and effective? I am sure the commissioners would be able and willing to put into effective law any such plan."

Now, I had known of many women who had been caught in that trap, who have tried to tell these men how to run their business and make some plan for them. And I looked him square in the face, and I said: "When I take the oath of office as commissioner, to enforce the laws, I will not go to you and ask you how to enforce them, or what your advice is. I should have some idea of what to do before taking the oath of office. If I found out that I couldn't enforce the law, instead of continuing to hold the office, I would give it up, and go before the people and ask them what they wanted done."

It has been just that sort of fallacious argument which has kept this vice alive, feeding on the best of our youth. As I sat here this morning listening to the speakers, I couldn't help realizing how this new movement for the elimination of commercialized vice is bound to be successful because it is based on different conditions than have hitherto existed. We know how Victor Hugo referred to the immoral woman as the eternal priestess of the ages. We have been told that she has been from the beginning and will always be. I do not know that I care to controvert either of these statements, but I do say that

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commercialized vice can be done away with, and that the association with our civic and national institutions can be divorced. (Applause.)

So we feel that this movement has a practical basis on the men's side. I believe the greatest power behind this movement has been the high conception of the brotherhood of man and our moral responsibility for the welfare of every one in the community we live in. I believe this is the main fight, but it has been strengthened by an appreciation of the facts and an appeal to the business men of the community. That was dwelt upon by one of the speakers this morning. The business men are beginning to realize that law breakers and gamblers are no longer an asset, but a liability, to a city. This has had a great effect. When we first took up this fight, we thought it was local, but we find that it has reached out into all the avocations of life. We do know now the value to the merchants of the segregated district in Washington, which was recently closed, after existing in the same part of the city ever since the Civil War. The camp followers came into the city with the army, and after the army was discharged they remained there, and this district has continued to exist there, almost under the shadow of the White House, until last March.

For years we have been going to Congress and to the commissioners to urge the elimination of this district; but Washington was a long way from the home States of the Congressmen, and they were indifferent; and you know people in Washington have no votes.

These Congressmen were so far away from home that it didn't matter to them, and they didn't care whether we liked it or not; so they did nothing. Then you became educated in your own home States; you made it clear to them that they would have to give to the city of Washing-

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ton the same decent government that you demanded in your own cities. So when the movement began in Washington this last spring, the law was passed unanimously, with only one dissenting vote. No one particular party can claim particular praise for this movement; they all voted for the elimination of the segregated district because the policy had become popular in other cities in the States from which they had come.

So the district was closed. We found there, and you will find it everywhere, that the ramifications of this evil branch out through the whole community. The merchants were interested, because in addition to the ordinary sales which they made at ordinary prices, they got exorbitant prices from these girls. In many of the houses there were automatic piano players that you or I would have to pay \$800 or \$850 for that these women had paid \$1,250 for. I once sat in a rear drawing-room in one of these places, and listened while a representative of one of the leading musical firms—one of the most prominent and reputable firms in the city—talked with the woman who had been running the house about a pianola for which she still owed \$450. She wanted him to give her a paper so that when she opened another house in another city she would have credit for what she had paid in. He refused to give her this paper, but he said, "Of course we will do everything we can to help you when you move, and I will advise you where to go." This, you understand, was one of the largest musical firms in Washington, and I heard all this with my own ears. She said, "Well, what would you advise?" "I wouldn't go to Baltimore," he said, "I think they will close up there soon, and at Alexandria they have some one to watch people trying to come in, and I wouldn't go to Richmond or Atlanta. Savannah, Georgia, is the best place. They won't

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do anything to you there ; they have tried and failed. We should be very glad to write to some real estate agent there to get you a good house at a reasonable price."

Afterwards, I asked about the house where this conversation took place. I asked a young woman who had been there three years what the rent was, and she said that it was \$75 a week. I rented that same house two weeks afterwards, as a temporary shelter for the girls, and I paid \$60 a month for this same house that this woman had been paying \$75 a week for as a disreputable house.

A few weeks later a woman who wanted to leave the house she was in went to a judge, and a minister was interested in her and came to see her and helped her. One day there was a collection taken for some purpose, and she sent him a check for \$25. He was very much pleased to receive it, and turned it over to the official committee, and said, "This is from one of the women who has been bad and has been converted." And one of the men said, "We ought not to take this money; you know where it was earned." So finally they voted not to take the money. So the minister, in order to break it as gently as possible to this woman, asked one of the good women of the parish to go to her and explain that they couldn't take it because she was too poor to afford so much; that she might put a dollar in the contribution box now and then to show her sentiment. But when this plan was carried out, the woman was too shrewd to be deceived, and she said, "I know what is the matter; some one has objected to the money. Is it Mr. Blank?" And she named a very prominent member of the church who was in the real estate business. The visitor tried to evade the question, but it was no use; the woman said: "I know it is Mr. Blank; it is just like him. I paid him rent for one of his houses for

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twenty-two years, and I paid over fifty per cent of the value, and he thought the money was good enough for him. You take my check back to Mr. Blank and let him carry it a day or two in his pocket and then it will be sanctified enough to use in the collection."

That is the real condition that exists, not only in business, but in the professions. Take medicine, the noble profession of medicine; how they have exploited these girls, God only knows. It has debased the law; the lawyers taught the women how they might do things forbidden by the law without being caught.

When the law abolishing the district was passed in Washington there was a really fine woman who had been there a long time, and I coveted her for my work to get in touch with some of the girls. I had known her for years; she had never broken a law. I pleaded with her and finally she said she would let me know the next day; but I didn't hear from her, and I called her up and got no answer until at five o'clock the messenger said that she would see me the next morning at nine. When she came and I talked to her, I found that she had spent the whole preceding day at a lawyer's office in Washington, in communication with three of the most reputable firms in the city, who had been trying to persuade her to bring suit and make a test case of this new injunction law, in order to try to overturn the law and retard its enforcement. "I wanted to do it," she told me; "the man I loved wanted me to do it; but if this place had not been a segregated district I should never have been here. I know hundreds of girls would be safe if they had not been drawn in here. I know that I can never use this house for anything else, but I would rather do without the return on my property than upset a law that will benefit every one." This was from a disreputable woman.

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There is a test being made in Washington now, but it was not a woman who brought the suit, but the real estate interests. It has been done by one of the oldest firms, the one with which Mr. Willett is connected, who is now representing us at the court of Spain. When a hotel, which had been hitherto respectable, opened its doors to disreputable women and law breakers, and it became the headquarters for that sort of thing, one of the newspapers took the question up and an injunction was issued against this hotel. In order that the property might not be tied up, the Willett Real Estate Company made a test case of it. It is a cause of congratulation to me that it was not an unfortunate woman, but big business that tried to overturn this law. It has given me greater hope for humanity and of my own sex, and the sense of responsibility to take away the chains that bind, and take away the power to exploit them and use the weak and yielding. We must protect them, and destroy the power that drags these girls down. Many of them are weak and subnormal, it is true, but they can be used in some less expensive way, economically, socially, and morally.

I feel that there is room for hope, and am so glad to know of this movement for social progress, for there is need of a forum where these things will be discussed, not in an emotional way, but by those who are just and intelligent, as well as warm-hearted, and I believe this organization represents that element.

CHAPTER VI.
SOCIAL INCORPORATION AND SOCIAL
PROGRESS.

BY JOHN HENRY WHYTE.

This is the history of a tiny effort to solve the world's greatest industrial problem, and I believe it to be a practical and ideal solution for mankind's biggest problems.

The signs of the times indicate that incorporated farming, combining scientific knowledge and modern big business management, will be an important industrial tendency of this decade, and that it will pay bigger dividends than railroads, banking, or insurance.

INTRODUCTORY.

There will be much jostling before the end of this decade to secure a place in the forefront of the mightiest industrial movement the world has ever seen, the rosy dawn of which already lights the eastern sky of the realms of progressive civilization.

Incorporated Farming is the term which now best describes the movement. Social Incorporation will be a better term after the public becomes familiar with it, for the movement will ultimately and inevitably, through the natural processes of evolution, include all of man's industrial and social activities.

The most perfect industrial or social organization, the chief evolutionary product culminating from all the ages of human ingenuity, is the corporation, and is represented by the big, modern, incorporated industries, or the present-day social corporations, the town, the county, the city,

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the State, or the Nation. Incorporation will ever tend in a continuous course of evolution toward a still higher perfection, to be adapted to human needs. The social corporation as now organized has evolved from industrial wants and exists because of industrial reasons. The necessity of industry gave birth to this social or civic corporation, the chief functions of which, from the town on up through the State to the Nation, are now seen to be the regulation of industrial corporations, and through the process and methods of regulation, the industrial and social threads are being woven into an inseparable texture.

The functional difference between an incorporated industry of importance, and a state, is year by year growing less and less. Finally there will be but one or the other. The survival will be the social corporation, which will include both the industrial and social activities and functions. The social corporation will be mankind's supreme, earthly achievement.

Some industrial corporations, within the knowledge of the present generation, have at times achieved greater influence in many directions than States, but eventually the States or the Nation have rightfully assumed the governing hand, because industrial corporations receive their charters from social corporations which are the people. But the majority, as well as the minority of the people, and the industries, will become the same through incorporation.

The corporation is the most substantial thing known. Although composed of human individuals, it never dies. The principles of power in the corporation, when used as the forces for good, go farther than any other humanly contrived means toward solving the world's greatest problems.

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The Social Corporation, beginning with the Incorporated Farm, will absorb the labor union as now constituted, and go farther than the proposals of Christian socialism, for under its dominion the laborer will ultimately receive all the profits of his toil. Single tax will be a fundamental principle, because a tax on land, allowing absolute freedom from tax restrictions for all industrial activities, will be the only kind possible, when land because of the food that comes from it, is the universally recognized base of all industrial, therefore, of all social organizations.

Scientific knowledge, now mostly utilized for purely research purposes, in combination with modern big business management and efficiency cost sheets, will have in the conduct of the Incorporated Farm, the more practical purpose of ennobling toil with the highest rank of dignity, while increasing the profits and happiness of the toilers.

An extended view into the future reveals the Incorporated Farm, in the course of evolution, taking on more and more the functions of manufacturing.

In the final view, the individual farmer will transfer his little farm to this big, modern, farm corporation, taking stock in payment for its value, for it is not land, only, that man wants, but an opportunity for the greatest possible physical and mental developments, thus securing material and spiritual happiness.

When such a combination had apparent economic value, the various farm corporations would ultimately amalgamate.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

The Incorporated Farm, or corporation, will have as its fundamental base, the combination of all that is pow-

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erful for good in modern corporate development applied to the most necessary business of life, that of producing food, with the advantages of the most practical, technical school of the age.

The purpose of the Incorporated Farm is essential to bring the most desirable living conditions to the land, with profits equaling those of the established city business pursuits, of the professional and trade pursuits, with less toil and a greater amount of time for physical, mental, and spiritual improvement. Its motto will be, "work to live," and not "live to work." The grind of the present industrial system will be diminished to reasonable proportions. The "high cost of living" and the "forward to the land" problems will be solved, and congested population in big cities prevented. The maximum possibilities for human happiness will be offered. Conditions for higher human development will be offered.

The Incorporated Farm will not have for its purpose the enrichment of any particular individual or family, and thus will be eliminated the *only evil of the modern industrial corporation*.

The land held by the Incorporated Farm will never be divided. Stock will be issued for it. Incorporation is the most successful co-operation known. This is an axiom.

There will be no mortgages or bonds provided for the Incorporated Farm, and therefore there will be no bankruptcy. All lands will be paid for before farming operations begin, thus maintaining financial durability at the highest known standard.

The Incorporated Farm will be financed alike by the funds contributed by small investors seeking to get forward to the land, and by the large investors wishing to secure the safest and most attractive investments.

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Academic truths and platitudes make it certain that land is the most substantial and remunerative base of the big, modern, industrial corporation.

The future of the American nation, of all nations, is to be determined most largely by the development of agricultural resources, a truth recognized by the leading statesmen, directors of important industries, and leaders of modern civilization.

The problem of the future food supply of this nation, of any nation, is the biggest single problem with which the people have to contend.

The United States Agricultural Department is the acme of human achievement for the advancement of scientific agriculture, its methods surpassing all others ever contrived.

The State agricultural colleges are now disseminating information, which, when properly applied, greatly increases the productivity of the soil and enables numerous graduates to earn splendid salaries as agricultural experts.

These excellent institutions have not only increased the yield of staple crops, but have introduced many new ones, one of the best known and most profitable of which is alfalfa.

Whatever the Department of Agriculture has done, whatever the agricultural colleges have done, this biggest and most modern industrial corporation could do better. Industrial corporation development makes the truth of this assertion self-evident.

TO ABSORB MANUFACTURING.

The Incorporated Farm would, through the processes of successful growth, enter more and more largely into manufacturing. Live stock, grain, fruit, and vegetables

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would find their way to market as finished food products. Cotton cloth, not cotton bales, would be the product for sale, and the same would be true of wool, flax, silk, and other textiles.

The corporation will take over the functions of the abbatoir, packing house, cannery, and mill. It will absorb the profits now going into the coffers of manufacturers. Manufacturing and farming will become one and the same.

In all manufacturing operations that the Incorporated Farm, through consistent, economic evolution will enter, it will also excel, because its students will have the surpassing fitness of the best technical training, and the further incentive that they are working at their own business. Experienced factory hands will leave the factories where they are now employed to work for the Incorporated Farm.

PROFITS.

As the corporation would follow all products to the consumer through the marketing, and ultimately through the manufacturing processes, there would be more profits accruing than would be possible to any individual.

The general average crop yields the country over are less than ten per cent of the maximum yields. Most of this ninety per cent of deficiency can be overcome by expert, scientific knowledge.

The signs of the times indicate that incorporated farming, which indeed has already begun, and will increase in a geometrical ratio year after year with its combination of modern, big business management and scientific knowledge, will pay larger dividends than railroads, banking, insurance, or manufacturing as conducted under the industrial system it is displacing. The Incorporated Farm at

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Ingleside, Phoenix, Arizona, has been in operation since March 5, 1914, and those interested are cordially invited to come and see for themselves, or if they cannot come, write for literature. Its stockholders are made up of St. Louis, Chicago, and New York newspaper men and their friends. The business managers of two large, metropolitan newspapers, and the managing editor of another, are on the Board of Directors, as is the grandson of the founder of one of the oldest and best known metropolitan dailies in the Central States.

Many well-informed people profess to believe that even the inexperienced clerk nowadays can make more than twenty-five per cent profit on his capital and labor invested in intensive farming, counting his labor at professional prices.

Others add weight and influence to this statement who do not actually believe it, but because of the high cost of living, selfishly wish to encourage as many people as possible to go forward to the land, and thus indirectly secure better conditions for themselves away from the land. But this false encouragement will not influence many people. The ultimate hope of profits, of more satisfactory living conditions, of the prospects of greater happiness, are the main influences propelling to this as to other lines of human endeavor. No one undertakes to accomplish a task without expecting to be rewarded in some manner satisfactory to himself through the laws of compensation.

But when all selfish reasons for encouraging people to go to the land are brushed aside, it may still be said that scarcely any one doubts that there are many authenticated examples of farm profits of one hundred per cent or more, produced by the scientific farming of grains, fruits, and vegetables, or in the raising of live stock,

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accounts of which we may constantly read in the magazines, newspapers, and special treatises.

When profits and other conditions are promising enough, there will be a genuine movement forward to the land, and not before. Men do not join in a movement out of mere fancy, a refined patriotism that might lead to many hard knocks, with the majority singularly indifferent to their misfortunes.

There is not a single business of which it is not truly said that it is overrun, but while the individual farmer must under the existing industrial system take his chances in competition as other business men do, he will gladly join his strength to that of his neighbor in the incorporated farm when he is convinced of the advantage to be derived.

No man can successfully deny the practical facilities of the modern industrial corporation for producing profits, when it has plenty of money, an abundance of integrity, and is advised by the leading scientists, experts, and the best modern big business managers.

Applied to farming, to the resultant manufacturing operations, and to the marketing of the products, these facilities will produce the greatest possible profits, just as when they have been applied to any modern industry, the greatest of which have already proven their merits and advantages.

The corporation will soon become popularized through the ownership of its securities by a large number of people with small means, because their profits will be greater than those offered by savings banks, and safer.

A TECHNICAL SCHOOL.

The corporation will continuously operate a modern, practical, technical school, the term "school" being inclusive of every branch of learning.

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To the students, the terms "corporation" and "alma mater" will be synonymous.

The operatives of the corporation will always be called students, whether young or old, male or female, and not "laborers," signifying that they are constantly striving to learn.

In no sense will the corporation interfere with the American public schools, for they are the most perfect the world has ever seen, and will constantly become more practical and suitable to human needs. The corporation will provide technical training, not at this time found in the public schools, until the educational needs of its students are fully satisfied by the public school curriculums.

The corporation curriculum will provide for the fullest development of both mind and body, but technical training will come first, as man must first be able to sustain life and provide its necessities, that there may be possibilities for physical, mental, and spiritual development. Domestic service, training for home keepers, successful wives and husbands, will be given careful attention. Practical questions of health and hygiene, and sex relations, will be studied. The subjects of good government and good citizenship will be investigated and taught as a science.

Equal honor and dignity will be provided for the work of the hand and of the head. By successfully combining technical training and practical business, scientific experts superior to any will be produced, because they will at all times be in touch with the business side of agriculture, that of making the greatest amount of profits compatible with physical, mental, and spiritual prosperity.

Students, boys, girls, men, or women, may enter the corporation school without cost for tuition, if they have the mental and physical capacity, and graduate into higher

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ideals of living and greater possibilities of attainment than ever previously conceived by them. But students who have no money will invest a portion of their earnings in the stock of the corporation until they have acquired sufficient to insure that they will not become a burden on charity along with mental and physical deficiencies. Finding it possible and desirable to pay their tuition by exhilarating labor of their own hands, students will graduate directly into remunerative, life-long service of their alma mater, doing the things for which they are best fitted, and for which they have the greatest natural or acquired inclination and aptitude.

As the students advance in efficiency through the merit system, they will receive more and more wages up to a standard maximum.

The schoolhouses will also be libraries and halls for community-meeting purposes, where lectures will be heard, sermons preached, orations delivered, and moving pictures, the greatest of modern teachers, exhibited and observed. They will become the community social centers where there will be provided wholesome diversions and amusements, including music and dancing.

A SQUARE EDUCATIONAL DEAL.

In arguing for vocational training recently, Professor Bolton, of the University of Washington, made the point that our present school system culminating in the high school, does not give the public a square deal. While it provides for the needs of the minority that look forward to culture and professional careers, it is also imperative to provide for the majority of the children who will be the future wage-earners and tillers of the soil. In this respect the public-school system is emphatically unfair and undemocratic. Justice and business efficiency alike de-

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mand a systematic plan for industrial education. This kind of a square deal would prove a profitable, national investment.

HOME PROVISIONS.

The corporation will always provide students and stockholders a place where they may build a home. They can build at any time and know that the home will be open for them as long as they live, for it would always remain without financial encumbrance under the protection of the corporation.

Part of the money necessary for building a home will be furnished by the corporation. The students will live in their own homes where they may rear their children in God's blessed sunshine and fresh air, most efficient medicines and vitalizers. Those who prefer may live at cost at the corporation's clubs, lodges, and hotels.

All buildings on the corporation land will be constructed at cost under the direction of a competent architect, who will see that they are not only beautiful, but provided with every modern accessory for sanitation, hygiene, and comfort. It is now possible to cool houses in the summer and warm them in the winter by the same electrical energy. Ice is manufactured and cooking done in many modern homes by the same electrical current. Mechanical devices for these processes are on the market. No farming corporation is modern that does not provide electricity. We have it. The use of electricity in modern industrial and domestic operations is becoming more and more universal.

IDEALISM.

The noticeable element of weakness in the modern labor union will be avoided, as students capable of earning

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the most money will receive the most, as they graduate upwards into higher earning capacities through the merit system.

The dream of Christian socialism will be more fully realized in that the students will ultimately receive all the profits of their labor. While there will at first be stockholders who are not students, when they offer stock for sale, they would first tender it to the corporation, which would allot it to the students in order of application, so that the students will eventually become the owners of all the stock and receive all the profits. This regulation will insure that all of the stockholders will eventually become students.

No students will ultimately be allowed to work longer than eight hours per day, which is sufficient gain-producing toil for the individual. The remaining eight hours for physical, mental, and spiritual betterment will be employed in study and recreation, development of body and mind. The eight hours for sleep will be under conditions where the mind and body are the least tired and worn, for air and sunshine and plentiful and wholesome food best maintain health.

As the corporation grows into large proportions, the problems of drought and irrigation will disappear. The sufficient water of the great rivers will be utilized to overcome these defects. But the practical, incorporated farm can be most effectually begun where present-day irrigation methods are the most perfect.

Ample opportunity will be afforded for the active employment of every faculty possessed by the students. Their services will bring the largest remuneration obtainable from the corporation. But remuneration will have a secondary importance when the students receive all the profits of their toil. Under the perfected social cor-

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poration, the details of profits will be regulated by the physical and mental needs of individuals, expressed in statutes.

The corporation, operating lands in different parts of the country, will make it possible for individual families to enjoy a change of climate while carrying on their vocations.

The students will work out the most important problems of science, engineering, architecture, of the whole scope of human endeavor and invention. These problems will still be more attractive because they will be as remunerative as interesting, for the corporation will be able to turn them to immediate and practical account, having the most practical place for their immediate utility. Awards of money will be given those originating or inventing new and useful things. Thus satisfying employment to all students will be furnished during the entire portion of lifetime allotted to toil for gain.

Students will be retired at a fixed age, or as soon as they have acquired sufficient stock of the corporation to afford them an independent income, the amount of which will be standardized, minimizing if not entirely doing away with pensions and insurance for employees, as such.

A limit will be placed on the amount of stock students may acquire. After retiring, students may devote all their time to study and travel, to completer mental and physical development. The highest possible honors will be conferred upon retired students who accomplish the greatest service for their fellows.

Further regulations for the conduct of the affairs of the corporation will safely evolve out of the trained minds and united wisdom of the students.

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TRANSPORTATION.

Trolley lines and steam railroads will be built when necessary to complete present transportation arrangements. These will eventually become part of the common carrier system and pass under government regulation, then ultimate government ownership.

In some localities rivers will make it possible to utilize water craft. A far enough extended view into the future exhibits the Incorporated Farm as the social corporation with the means of transportation as mere adjuncts, when all civic and industrial needs will be expressed in statutes.

The prosperity of the agricultural district, the value of its farm lands, depends very largely upon the quality of the public roads. As the Incorporated Farm makes the interests of the community identical, develops and perfects the science of road building, assisted by the Federal Good Roads Bureau at Washington, the isolation of country life will vanish in the wake of transportation facilities necessary to carry on the business of the biggest, modern corporation. The students of the Incorporated Farm will ride in automobiles when they wish, for whatever there is that is good, is none too good for them.

The making of good roads will soon cause the United States to be envied by all other nations. More good roads will be made in this country within the next five years, in all likelihood, than have ever yet been made. Since March, 1913, the Lincoln Highway, from New York to San Francisco, all the way across this continent, has been so nearly perfected that more than twenty-five thousand automobiles will come to San Francisco this year to attend the exposition. The Lincoln Highway is destined to be the trunk of the most gigantic system of good roads, connecting up with every large and enterprising city of

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every State, in such a way that a family can travel from one corner of this great union of States to any other with the same comfort and convenience as in any up-to-date city.

MINIMUM OPPOSITION.

There will be a minimum of opposition to the growth of the Incorporated Farm movement, for its beginnings are the same as those of other corporations. But there is an opposition by even good and great people to every movement having for its purpose the advancement of civilization, because those in high places are always satisfied with present conditions which render them tribute. Prejudice and selfish interests from this source are allowed to obscure the horizon of truth.

Martyrs were burned for enunciating principles which have become the laws of every-day life. Harvey was ridiculed and punished for declaring that blood circulated through the human body. Daniel Webster opposed steam railroads and thought them an absurdity. When Cyrus W. Field was financing the building of the trans-Atlantic cable, an influential journal said that he had gone to England to further the interests of his favorite enterprise. "Both ends of the cable will be under the control of England and no American is a real friend of his country who will give a cent to help England acquire such a military engine." And there are many who do not now believe in the possible perfection of the airship and the aeroplane.

HEALTH AND VIGOR.

The Incorporated Farm will do more to develop health and vigor than all other means ever conceived. It will afford the highest privilege of becoming real citizens in a community where each man and woman can do a part,

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for the glory of the service will be a stimulant never before felt.

"The progressive civilization of the last hundred years has worked terribly against the health and perpetuity of the whole race," said Charles William Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University, before the International Congress of School Hygiene in Buffalo, August, 1913. "This is seen in the reduced vitality of the multitude that inhabit closely built cities, in the diminished size of families, in the incapacity of many women to bear and nurse children, in the disproportionate increase of the insane, defectives, and criminally inclined. Such cities as London, Paris, Berlin, New York, and Chicago bear witness that modern civilization is all the time operating and promoting its own destruction."

PRESENT-DAY ORGANIZATION.

There never have been so many movements organized to help the farmer as at present, yet the cost of food products goes higher and higher. The mere co-operative organization of farmers has not proven as practical as the farmers themselves would like. The Southern Truck Growers' Association of Texas, the largest ever organized, is going into dissolution because it does not get the support necessary for its success from the farmers themselves, which is the history of nearly all farmers' co-operative movements, especially when it comes to marketing.

MARKETING PROBLEM.

The methods of the Incorporated Farm would successfully solve the marketing problem, for it would in the final analysis get all the profits from the products it put on the market.

The recent appropriation of \$50,000 by the Federal Government to investigate marketing plans for farmers,

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followed by an appropriation of \$15,000 by the State of Texas, shows there is a keen realization of one of the causes of the high cost of living, as well as a desire to help farmers with their greatest problem. Other States are giving consideration to marketing problems, but Texas is the first to make an appropriation, and has passed a law making cotton warehouse certificates negotiable.

The farmer can produce without organization, but he cannot successfully market. Organization is necessary to deal with marketing problems. It has been suggested that the Federal Government utilize the machinery of the National Farmers' Union, claimed by some to be the most powerful organization in the Western Hemisphere, in the carrying out of any marketing plans. This union, in national convention at Salina, Kansas, in September, 1913, advocated a central, national marketing bureau to bring the farmer and business interests closer together for their mutual benefit.

The farmer cannot be helped until he organizes, and the Federal Government cannot help the farmer excepting through organization. But from the very nature of organization more loosely constructed, there cannot be full and complete co-operation without incorporation.

This truth is being realized now that the mania for organization is causing a confusion of effort and a wasting of energy. The stockholders of a modern industrial corporation are not afflicted with these ills.

The modern industrial corporation is the only organization that ever successfully solved the marketing problem. The Federal statutes show with what success some of the big industrial corporations have marketed their own products. These statutes, indeed, prove that some of these corporations, after they have grown to the stature of trusts, successfully raised the price of their commod-

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ities beyond the endurance of the people, who make the laws, but such laws are always the sufficient guarantees of the people's liberty. No corporation will ever get so big that the people will not be big enough to govern it. And, finally, the people and the social corporation, which will include all industry, will become one and the same.

MERE CO-OPERATION TOO LIMITED.

A lesson learned from co-operation among farmers is that it should be nation-large before it can be perfected, so that the farmer may secure for his sales what the consumer ultimately pays. It would be impossible to develop and maintain such extensive co-operation outside of a highly-developed corporation.

In the West, farmers and fruit-growers mostly deal with uniform products, like wheat, apples, oranges, grapefruit, potatoes, and hay. Big buyers do not care to consider small offerings, thus giving western farmers and fruit-growers distinctive advantages.

Even when farmers are co-operating for marketing purposes, the representatives of the co-operative union work at a disadvantage, because each individual is pitted against a dozen specialists. Marketing farm produce now is just where marketing manufactures were twenty years ago, when sixty per cent of the final price went to marketing expenses and wasteful competition. The present manner of purchasing supplies for the farm is alike wasteful and antiquated.

MIDDLEMAN'S PROFITS.

The problem of reasonably marketing farm products, is one that society will solve within the next twenty years to lessen the cost of living. For instance, one of the potato unions near New York City, in 1913, averaged forty-four

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cents a bushel in the selling price. Consumers in New York City paid eighty cents to one dollar. Here is a chance to reduce the cost of living, and at the same time to add to the profits of the farmer.

The canning industry is progressing by rapid strides. A single machine can now turn out as many as ninety thousand cans in a day. We now think of canned products in millions. The farmer must look to this ever increasing market. The Incorporated Farm derives all the profits from canning its own products.

HIGH COST OF LIVING.

The management of successful industrial corporations is much more efficient than that of civic corporations. Civic waste is responsible for much of the high cost of living. As cities grow, the cost of government proportionate with the population has increased. With the same economy and efficiency noted in the management of successful industrial corporations, it would decrease. This principle has permitted the formation of the very largest of all industrial corporations.

In the United States, a peace-loving country, about seventy-one cents out of every dollar of tax for Federal Government expense, is used to support the army and navy. The proportion of tax used for military purposes by European governments, before the outbreak of the present great, international conflagration, was even greater, with Germany at the top of the list. Many people were fleeing from Germany before the present war broke out. All of Europe is now staggering near the brink of bankruptcy. But industrial necessities will eventually put an end to all wars.

"The primary factor in the rise of the cost of living is the fall in the purchasing power of gold, due to the

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excessive and growing exactions of government," says Dr. David Starr Jordan. "A nation is a huge corporation which differs from other corporations in its power to levy assessments without limit on its stockholders. With the financial management of even the most progressive nations, no industrial corporation could escape insolvency. The rise in the cost of articles of necessity has been about fifty per cent since 1897, municipal and State debts are from two to three times as great, and the increase in the world's supply of gold has been from seven and one-half to eleven billion dollars, somewhat lowering its buying power, but the amount of gold is small compared with the amount of credit resting upon it, and population also increases. The total State and local taxes in the United States increased from one to two and one-half billion dollars during the decade from 1901 to 1911. Instead of living beyond our means, we are living beyond the means of the fourth generation. There is certainly dangerous portent in a prosperity that rests on taxing the future. Taxation lowers the purchasing power of money. Bonds will be paid at their maturity in still cheaper dollars. Hence the fall in value the world over of gild-edged bonds. The stress and incidence of taxation falls upon the least resistant element. As production is more or less limited, the consumer is the weakest of the three groups, producer, dealer, and consumer, and finally bears most of the tax burden, but in any case an increase in taxation is a burden on the people, and they can only shift it among themselves.

FARMING POPULATION DECREASES.

The rural population of the United States has increased only nine millions in twenty years, while the total population has increased twenty-nine millions. But the rural

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population of England and Wales has been declining, not only relatively, but actually, in every decade of the past half-century. In 1851, in those countries, nearly one-half of the males above ten years of age were upon the farms; in 1910, there was less than one-tenth. With a great increase in total population, the number of persons engaged in agriculture has decreased in a half-century by more than five hundred thousand, or thirty per cent.

INCLUSIVE.

Those whose limits of vision coincide with mine, see for the workers in the Incorporated Farm movement, a lifetime of interesting and remunerative toil, real service to fellow-men, doubly interesting because of the good it will do in putting the production of the world's food supply on the highest professional and business plane, adding to the profits of laborers, and increasing the vigor, the health, and the happiness of the human family.

There is too much tendency to look upon country life as needing the amelioration that comes from charitable motives. The small farmer, the poor farmer, and their over-worked wives and children, do not wish pity. The independent American farmer scorns to be patronized. Through the processes of the Incorporated Farm, with its technical training school, he will presently hold an enviable position, coming into possession of what is rightfully his. The soil will give him the same superfine culture that he gives the soil.

The "sittlichkeit" of the present assures the most rapid growth for the Incorporated Farm, using the German expression introduced into the English language by Lord Haldane.

The Incorporated Farm has a meaning and practical value outside of the realms of magniloquent rhetoric. It

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proposes specific propositions affecting the intimate concern of immediate industrial and social life.

Forward to the land is a worthy and necessary movement, but the day of the small farm is passed, for the small farm is not economical. Machinery costs too much and the marketing processes are too expensive and difficult.

The small merchant, then the large one, will cast his lot with the students of the Incorporated Farm. The important and necessary business now carried on by the small merchant, will continue just as important and necessary, and more dignified, as a part of the great co-operative whole, when the Incorporated Farm assumes its functions. The Incorporated Farm management will display the same modern tactics in buying in wholesale bulk, as displayed by the purchasing agent of other large industrial or civic corporations.

But the middle man and manufacturer are under present conditions as much producers as the farmers themselves, for a thing is not produced until it is delivered to the individual who wants it, at the time he wants it, in the condition he wants it, for the purpose he wants it. The interests of the merchant, the manufacturer, and the farmer in the Social Corporation will become identical.

"Business in its evolution has passed through three stages," says Professor William Hammond Parker, of the University of Cincinnati, "appropriation, exploitation, and production. The stage of appropriation grew out of the power, physical strength, of the strong cave man, over the weak cave man, and extended down into the feudal ages, when the feudal lord not only owned the land, but his vassals as well. Slavery was in this stage, and it was an improvement over cannibalism that immediately preceded it. With the invention of printing and the bringing

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of gunpowder from the Far East, the former making possible the dissemination of knowledge previously locked up with the monks in the cloisters, and the latter reducing the physical power of the mail-coated knight to an equality with that of the soft-handed merchant, appropriation gave way to exploitation, and craftiness was substituted for the brute force of the mailed hand. That exploitation of labor, of natural resources, or of the public, is rapidly passing away, is shown by the statutes governing railroads, banking, insurance, and corporations generally, protecting the natural resources of the States and Nation, the forests, the water power of the rivers, the mines, and public franchises. In this age of production, the ethical idea is becoming more and more dominant, so that the very principles of eternal right and wrong, which govern a man in his home and in his church, also govern him in his politics and in his business activities. Political and civil affairs will become more and more largely industrial. We are now interested, not alone in the questions of the rights of labor, but are getting interested in the questions of the rights of the man who employs labor. No man can again convince an American audience that his business may be conducted as he pleases because it is his own, or that any question can be purely a business or purely a political question, for it must be looked at, not only as an economical or a political question, but as an ethical question as well. Ethical ideas and standards change, else there would be no progress. What was right for my grandfather is not right for me. Truth alone is immutable, and the precept of the Man of Galilee, 'Do unto others as you would have others do unto you,' is the perfect guide for all human actions. We are coming to realize that no man or body of men has a right to demand of their employer that which they are not willing to give to their

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employer; to demand honesty from him and not give in return absolute honesty."

The day laborer will become the stockholder in the Incorporated Farm, acquiring with an independence and competence, the education that will enable him to become a more dignified, better balanced, and useful citizen. It is not labor that detracts from dignity and social worth, but ignorance.

The salaried man who uses his head will learn the value of the work of his hands and be blessed in that he may provide a home for his family and leave an inheritance.

Industrially, the greater the freedom of the individual, the more wages he earns. The man born with a birth-right in the Incorporated Farm, will be freed from the terror of that biting poverty which paralyzes so many of the individual man's activities. Nothing approaching social perfection can be reached while little children and widowed mothers are ground into money by the mills of the money gods. The beauties of poverty are only apparent when voluntarily assumed by the matured philosopher for purely asthetic reasons.

That the great man in any community is the man who renders the greatest service, will be realized as a practical truth, and such a man will ever live longest in the memory of the generation which follows.

There is evolution everywhere. "Let Thy thought be my thought, let Thy purpose be my purpose," may be the loftiest expression of prayer addressed to Deity, when it is understood that God is Supreme Good, and may be the prayer of the Jew and the Gentile, the Oriental and the Occidental.

The Incorporated Farm as the social corporation, to use the words of the immortal Gladstone, "will help to inspire humanity with the belief that life is a great and

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noble calling—not a mean, groveling thing that we are to shuffle through as we can—but an elevated and lofty destiny.”

This may seem an effervescent enthusiasm, but Emerson said, nothing worth while has ever been accomplished without enthusiasm. “America is another name for opportunity. Our whole history appears like a last effort of the Divine Providence in behalf of the human race.”

“He who seeks happiness never finds it,” a philosopher said, “but he who does his duty, finds peace and happiness in service.” Paraphrasing Nelson at Trafalgar, in this republic, every man is expected to do his duty.

“The instant you are content with progress,” Herbert Kaufman says, “you will cease to progress.” “When you rest on your laurels, you have chosen a poor couch. What you were yesterday doesn’t interest us to-day. We want to know what you will do to-morrow.”

“It is the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place;
The Brotherhood of Man
Shall be the human race.”

WHAT OTHERS SAY.

Champ Clark, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives: “The movement seems to me to be one in the right direction.”

J. C. Corbett, Assistant Chief of Bureau of Plant Industry, United States Department of Agriculture: “I am impressed with the scope of the scheme. It is almost Utopian in its conception and application. It would undoubtedly, if it could be carried out, solve most of the problems which it proposes to settle, but with varying interest and abilities of the parties concerned, I am unable to conceive of how such an ideal adjustment can be

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brought about. The desires, ambitions, and abilities of individuals vary so greatly, there is such a wide diversity of financial responsibilities already possessed by those who might participate in such an undertaking that I can conceive of no basis of equitable distribution of their holdings or an equitable distribution of the returns from the combined enterprise. In communities where the abilities, ambitions, and financial responsibilities are more nearly upon a parity than they are in most American communities, it would be, in my judgment, easier to form such a combination and indeed this is, to a certain extent, proven by the corporative enterprises involving a wide diversity of activities in several European nations."

Fiske Warren, of Harvard University Faculty: "I am much in sympathy with many of your objects, and it would be stimulating indeed to see such a plan as yours succeed. At the same time permit me to express a doubt as to whether you are not trying to include too many things under the control of a single corporation. For instance, to my mind, it is hardly conceivable that happiness will result when a man's house shall be built, not by himself, but by a corporation in which he himself and all others living on the land shall be stockholders. This criticism applies also to a number of other things which the corporation is intended to undertake, but which to my mind are better undertaken by private agencies or by co-operative effort. However, until I see some plan laid down to give form and substance to your interesting adumbrations, I perhaps ought not to go far with criticisms, either favorable or unfavorable, for I apprehend that if there is anything in the criticisms I might make, they would be apt to be found to be difficulties which you yourself would encounter in bringing down the plan to practicality."

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Honorable Charles Nagel, Former Secretary of Labor: "It is entirely possible that your suggestions may solve part of the problems. If your proposition involves the active participation in work by those who are interested in shares, the advantage would be a double one, because it would not only take an active force back to the soil, but your plan would be calculated to create an opportunity for community life, the lack of which probably constitutes one of the greatest deprivations of modern farming."

Mr. Robert John, Secretary of the Luther Burbank Society: "Your plan outlined for a great industrial center of which intensive agriculture is the backbone, is, in my mind, quite idealistic. None the less, it is a first step toward an accomplishment which will do more for this country than anything that has been offered—and with which I am familiar—for the betterment of the condition of the working classes."

Honorable Arthur Capper, Governor of Kansas, and Editor of the Capper Publications: "It is almost too large a proposition about which to make up one's mind at once. But I am ready to say that it presents a nobly idealistic plan, and a plan that ought to be practical."

Honorable Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the United States Navy: "I am deeply concerned over the depopulation of rural districts, and am an ardent advocate of the 'back-to-the-farm' movement. None are more competent to further this vital cause than members of the press."

Dr. Elmer Gates, Scientist, Washington, D. C.: "It seems to me to be a step in the right direction, and that something of the kind will be one of the ground-floor planks in the reconstructed edifice of human society. I have long been thinking and experimenting along the lines the results of which should not be neglected by those,

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who like yourself, are leaders of tendencies destined to culminate in epoch-making results."

Dr. Frederik Van Eeden, Walden, Bussum, N. Holland, Author of "Happy Humanity," and other books: "I believe in your movement and anything I can do to help it, I will more than gladly do. Mr. Hugh Mac Rae will be in sympathy with your work. Do you know the pamphlet, 'Constructive Socialism,' by Mr. Millar? He would help you. I think you should come into contact with Mr. Upton Sinclair. He is a great friend of mine and I think he will be glad to enter into a discussion of your scheme."

W. J. Hoggson, New York City, Industrial Leader: "The matter is extremely interesting to me and I will do everything in my power to push along the great work which this country needs—some plan to apply business methods to farming. If you have not in your club library a book entitled 'Happy Humanity,' written by Dr. Frederik Van Eeden, to which is appended a plan which I worked out with Doctor Van Eeden for an incorporated farm community, I should be glad to send you a copy."

CHAPTER VII.

THE FAMILY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

BY WILLIAM FORD NICHOLS.

In boxing the compass, the four cardinal points are combined for all of the bearings of the whole circle. We have not only north, south, east, and west, but the old mariner, in boxing the compass, includes north by east, north northeast, and so on. So that the four points themselves furnish the whole round of the compass. The committee which has arranged these twenty-one different talks, have followed President Lincoln's advice in blocking out the subjects under the one head of social progress; and when I approach the particular topic assigned to me, "The Family and Social Progress," the realization that this subject has already been so thoroughly covered, both simplifies and supplements what I am able to say on that subject.

It simplifies it because there are a good many technical students who have written books. I, of course, have to speak in an untechnical way without any system of analysis or synthesis, and only just as a family man, a family man who owes all that he is pretty much to a good father and mother, and who, therefore, has a tradition of what family life did for him; and as a family man who is the least member of a household, the mother of which has shaped that family so that the happiest thing on this earth for him is the family life around his own hearthstone. And these are the only qualifications that I have to speak upon the family; from the memories of dear ones gone, who have left me the most precious memories in life,

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and the experience to-day of family life. I may say that the old aspiration was that a family should have a quiver full. The student will tell you that the old quiver held five arrows, and therefore, as the father of five children, and the grandfather of ten grandchildren, five boys and five girls, you must grant that I have the quiver full, and that is my only qualification to treat upon this matter.

One of the most careful students of the family was the late Dr. Samuel Dyke, of New England, whom I used to know a good many years ago. So far as family perils are concerned, he was possibly, at the time of his death, the best informed man in New England, and in a résumé of his work, he once said, "You can no more study social science without studying the family, than you can study biological science without studying the cell." The family is the first society; the family is the smallest social unit; the family is the cell for all that area of social expression, I take it, which comes under the survey of the distinguished speakers in this congress. You can see what a support it is to feel that somebody else has covered nearly all the points, and that I can browse around and ramble around freely, feeling that if I leave anything unsaid, it has already been better said by somebody else. But I feel that my topic is the biggest topic in the whole twenty-one, because it concerns that which is the basis, the unit, of all society.

Now, at the beginning I spoke of the four cardinal points of the compass. There are also four cardinal points in the family. The first is marriage, the next is parenthood, the next is childhood, and the fourth is brother- and sisterhood. Those are the four cardinal points of the family, and like the four cardinal points of the compass, we can use them in boxing the whole compass of society, studied as a science. You have to have

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these four points, unless I am very much mistaken, as the basis of any true social vision, and those are the various angles of the social science, of the socius. The family gives us the four dimensions of companionship. The first dimension of marriage and loyalty; the second dimension of parenthood and duty; the third in privilege, and the fourth in fellowship. Each one of these four cardinal points of the family emphasizes one of these four necessary things to any social progress. Marriage emphasizes loyalty; parenthood emphasizes duty; childhood, privilege, and brother- and sisterhood, fellowship. Of course these four dimensions are all in the totality of the subject, and while I say they emphasize these points, each one partakes of the ideal of all the rest. The emphasis does not exclude, but includes the others.

Now, let us take loyalty. Those of you who have followed Professor Royce's book on the problem of Christianity, will remember in what an up-to-date manner he deals with what he calls loyalty to the universal loyalty; and he defines loyalty as a practically devoted love of the community. Now, isn't that, in philosophic terms, just the definition of good old mothering and fathering, a practical, every-day, not argued, but acted life in community? Of course, I am taking Professor Royce's idea out of the text, because he is dealing with Christianity as a universal loyalty; but I want to adopt his phrase, which is "the beloved community," and the happy husband and wife forms the most beloved community on earth. There is the loyalty of wife to husband, and of husband to wife, and that is the ideal that must permeate a true, fundamental notion of social progress.

How completely that is brought out in our poetry, in all our high ideals of what happiness in life is. We remember Hawthorne's fire worshipers in his *Econium* of the

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fireplace. He says we can understand the old-fashioned tocsin, "Fight for your altars and your fires"; but who under heaven could ever start up any war cry for the sake of our registers and stoves?

Think of Whittier's "Snowbound"; how he depicts the clean hearth and the crackle of the blaze, shut in by the storm, and the dear home faces lighted by the fitful glow. Isn't the loyalty to the beloved community of the family the secret of it all?

So, if we expand the idea of the loyalty of two, to the community; the loyalty of the hearthstone and the family, and carry it out to the widest extent of human association, isn't loyalty a fundamental contribution of the family to the whole question?

Parenthood is the next cardinal point, and that involves duty. As we remember our fathers and mothers, it seemed to be taken for granted that they would do their duty. The Bible says, "Fathers, provoke not your children to wrath." You don't need to admonish mothers; they are more apt to have to keep the children from provoking the fathers to wrath. But the admonition of the Bible represents a duty. Much illustration is not necessary, but here is one example. Oftentimes the father is the first one to realize that when there is a new child, there is also a new will. I have a picture of one of my children, standing on the steps, that somebody caught just as I had told the little child to do something, and she said, "I won't"; and I have that picture of her little back all full of "I won't." That is one of the discoveries that a father makes about his child. It is a revelation to him of one of the profoundest duties that God has laid upon him as a parent; to deal with that little will. It won't take care of itself, it is the father's responsibility. Of course he cannot suppress that will, it is his duty to develop it,

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and that is illustrative of a great many of the duties of parenthood. It stands for responsibility.

The third cardinal point is childhood. Just as parenthood emphasizes responsibility, childhood emphasizes privilege. God knows there is also privilege in parenthood and the child has plenty of duties; but in the family the child stands for privilege. The child is a privileged being, brought up in a true nurture and admonition, and woe betide the parent who does not recognize the privilege of the child to be dealt with in the fairest possible way. One of my old friends was once visiting a clergyman. The clergyman and his wife were going somewhere, and their child, sitting on my friend's knee, said, "There go the two biggest liars in this town." Startled, my friend asked, "What do you mean?" The child said, "Oh, they have told me for the last two years that the next time they took a buggy ride they would take me, and they have never done it yet." It is one of the privileges of the child to be truthfully dealt with. And in society at large, every element must have its proper privileges, its right to opportunity, recognized.

The fourth cardinal point is fellowship; the brother and the sister. It means reciprocity, mutual forbearance, mutual regard; it is the epitomy of fellowship all through the community.

These four things which belong to the family seem to me to be the family's contribution to social progress; loyalty to high ideals, a sense of duty, a realization of privilege, and fellowship.

What are some of the things that attack these ideals in the family? Well, of course, divorce courts break up the bond of loyalty; that lack of altruism which Spencer defines for us, which is action for the benefit of another, rather than action for the benefit of one's self. The lack

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of that, just pure selfishness, does not always bring families to the divorce court, but it strikes at the family.

What strikes at duty? Well, a great many things. One thing is the capitalization of the child in the home. It is not merely the poor fathers and mothers who earn their daily bread who have to capitalize everything to make ends meet, who do this. The child may be capitalized for the sake of a sort of priggishness; it may be regarded as a sort of a credential of pride. We like to say, "This is my boy; he has taken all the prizes at school, and he is mine." We think, "I have got an automobile, and I have got that boy, and I am a good deal of a fellow." The child may be brought out to be exhibited to satisfy her parents' vanity. There is, of course, a just pride; but not when it spoils the child and makes a prig of him.

Then there is the character incubator process; letting a mechanical process do for the child what the mother and father ought to do. We have all heard the story of the man who went into a Nevada mining town and saw the sign over what he supposed was a saloon, "No mother here," and he was terribly shocked. But an old miner explained that that wasn't a saloon; it was a place where they sold incubators. We have the incubator habit when we turn off on the school the things that should be done at home. We have too often given up the Sunday afternoon story, the privilege of the child to have the mother's training.

Then there is that which attacks the sense of fellowship in the family; when brother and sister are both looking out for number one instead of the other person. It is the spirit of the fuss-maker. In my early ministry I had a good, old neighbor who didn't see eye to eye with me on anything theologically, but we used to spend interesting evenings together; and he had on his wall two mot-

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toes, worked in worsted. One was the familiar text, "Blessed are the peacemakers"; but the other was his own, "Cursed are the fuss-makers." When the brothers and sisters are all the time making a fuss in the home because they don't get their rights, then trouble begins, and the spirit of fellowship is destroyed.

I have mentioned some of the things that attack the four cardinal points; loyalty by all sorts of disloyalty; privilege by being misconstrued, and fellowship by the fuss-maker. Widen out those four points as the family must be widened out to make society and see how the analogy fits. These four vices are what we are contending with to-day as the obstacles to social progress. We must have loyalty to high idealism. We have seen how Carl Marx stood out and sacrificed a great deal for the sake of loyalty to his ideals, and we must admire him for that even if we do not agree with him. We have it to-day interpreted in the trenches of the great war and in the heartaches left in the homes of the soldiers. We have splendid examples of loyalty in the hospitals and on the field, and also in our own homes and in examples of social service that may represent as much sacrifice as going to the front.

The sense of privilege is developed when we realize that it is a privilege to help our fellow-men; that privilege is a clear call to our best manhood and womanhood. I think the family has contributed to social progress an idea of loyalty, of duty, of fellowship that calls for our best efforts and is a challenge to every man and woman to be up and stirring. We hear the noisy minority, but we don't always hear the great body of people quietly doing their work. Think of all your friends, of the happy families, of all those who are doing their duty in that state of life to which it has pleased God to call them. Think

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of all those who are feeling the privilege of living in this twentieth century. "The shallows murmur, while the deeps are dark." I hope we shall sometime have a paper that will print headlines in the morning, saying, "Forty thousand families were happy yesterday." "Ten thousand bankers were honest yesterday." "Any number of persons were trying to teach the pure gospel of Christ Sunday." It is time we give the innings to the people who are doing their duty, and not to the minority who are making the noise. We have every reason for hope and ambition.

Now, my thesis has amounted to this. I believe the family lies at the root of all social progress; just as man is the architype of the animal kingdom, so the family is of the social scheme. I believe that in the family we need, in these days, to be very careful to preserve these four cardinal points of loyalty, duty, privileges, and fellowship; all four. And it seems to me that it is just here that the family ideal will help in the social ideal. There are great federations for self-interest, as well as for service. Federation for self-interest shows itself in the labor unions, and that is legitimate. The federation for service shows itself in organization like the Red Cross. But the federation for fellowship, for which the family stands, is beyond them both. We are thankful for what we have done, but we want to go yet farther; we want to have all four qualities dominant. What would that imply?

We have what is called socialism; that may involve three of them. In many honest hearts it does. It has a right to organize for self-interest; downtrodden people ought to have their rights. Of course they should organize for service, as Marx and others have taught. But what the family says is that now as you organize for self-interest and for service, there is also a higher kinship,

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and that is this relationship for which the family stands. When we interpret that into our high idealism, we speak of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. If we think only of the brotherhood of man, it may be in terms of self-interest or of service; but when we bring in the higher idealism, fatherhood, then we come to the idea of one blood in all races and nations in the earth. It is the widened instinct; and it seems to me that there is a lack just there of a dimension which we need to stress. In socialism, derived from the idea of the socius we may have a great ideal; but we need also filialism, from the word "filius"; that, it seems to me, is what the world needs to-day. Are we losing the filial relation? Does the social program involve the breaking of family ties? We see examples of it on every side. I have read of an old mother of eighty-seven who had to sue her son for support, and another of eighty, forced to apply to the court for relief because of the indifference of the son. We have heard of old fathers and mothers put into the cheerless hall bedroom. Is the filial instinct lessening? The sense of reverence in the child needs to be emphasized, the sense of obligation for the father or mother. I can only touch upon this; but just as there is a sense in the family for a need for filial responsibility, to round out the family life, so socialism needs this element to give perfect form to the whole vision. We need to rally around this new word, "filialism," as the supplement of socialism. We must think not only of the brotherhood of man, but also of the filialism of man, and the Sermon on the Mount indicates what the children of the Heavenly Father should do. We are getting one-sided. Economic questions are not the only questions in civilization. We must be filialists rather than socialists.

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So, from the family we get the vision of social progress; and these ideals, just because we are living in such strenuous times, need all the more attention. I used the figure of the compass; on the great liner almost everything is changed since the days of the Mayflower, except the compass, this one thing which has to be watched more carefully than it was three hundred years ago because of the complicated iron and steel and machinery which may make that little needle swerve. You will find on the great ships, three compasses that must be consulted, one to rectify another. And so the very complexity of modern life has made it necessary to guard all the more carefully the one thing by which it must be guided. So it is with the family and its ideals, and the contributions which the family makes to social progress; we must watch and guard them.

The fleur-de-lis which you see on every compass, was originally, we are told, a cross. Let us take the cross, as a symbol of sacrifice. Just as the old compass needle pointed to the cross, so now in the fundamental thought of the twentieth century, must be the realization that, whether in the family or in society, for the highest development, there must be sacrifice.

CHAPTER VIII.
THE MOVEMENT FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL
PROGRESS.

BY DAVID STARR JORDAN.

BISHOP BELL, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN: I want to talk to you especially of what men are planning to do after this war is over. The war is plainly enough the direct result of rival military establishments; it is the result of preparedness for war; the result of having thirty thousand officers, more or less, in each of the great nations constantly on their toes, ready to jump, constantly thinking about nothing else but war; constantly devising schemes for pushing the nations to their ruin.

There is now the greatest crisis in the history of the world since the Reformation, and this crisis has very much in common with that. You may remember that in the time of the Reformation, the great financial establishments of that day got hold of the machinery of a great church, and proposed to use it for the robbery of the people in the name of religion. Now we have similar, great establishments carrying on similar rivalries and robberies in the name of national defense. Before this war began, the nations were spending ten million dollars a day in insurance against war; ten million dollars a day in the sacred name of peace, but expended in measures for bringing on war, and, sooner or later, war was necessarily the result. As you might say, it was like two express trains running on converging tracks, and the only thing that was being done to insure against wrecks at the point of con-

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vergence was for both to put on all steam in the hope of reaching the junction first.

Since 1908, when the Austrians took possession of Bosnia, we have had what the British call a "dry war"; what was practically war was going on, but no blood was shed; everybody was ready, but nobody was actually killing anybody. On the first of August, with the ultimatum on Servia, this "dry war" changed into a "red war," a war of blood. And behind all this was also the sinister influence of the great firms that furnish ten million dollars a day in ammunition and arms to the nations, and which make a clear profit of something like a million dollars, just as the great establishments in the time of the Reformation made money out of the corruption that was then going on.

Then behind all this again was the exploitation of China, of Turkey, of Africa, where men invested their money because they could make more profit than at home. They make more because these countries have gold and silver and diamonds and oil and copra and other things which are valuable in Europe, but not so much so at home. They went into these countries, too, because you could get labor there for almost nothing, while labor in Europe was dear; these men could get labor for almost less than nothing by the judicious use of force. So we had "red rubber," rubber mixed with blood, from the Congo. Practical slavery exists wherever there is exploitation on a large scale. With this goes the building up of banks and railroads. Both of these are very useful to the people exploited; there is nothing wrong in exploitation unless it is wrong; unless it is accompanied by crime, and unfortunately a great deal of it has been accompanied by crime. It has been the habit in Europe to say that wherever a man from any country goes, the diplomacy

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of his country goes with him. If a man is in the "red rubber" business, his diplomacy goes with him, whether he is German or French or English. But it is very weak unless it wears brass knuckles, unless you have a navy or an army to demonstrate with and back up the exploiter, or invade the interior, when the people rise in revolt.

A "sphere of influence," for instance, always means rascality; they often interfere and overlap, and produce tremendous rivalry and trade war. This has been called by the French "*la course vers l'abime*," the road to the abyss. All of us have been able to see for the last six years that unless this sort of thing stopped, unless the increase of the navy, and conscriptions stopped, we were going to take the most awful punishment, we were inviting the most awful catastrophe that the world has ever seen. We have depended on finances to stop it because it meant the ruin of all the corporations. We have depended on industry to prevent it, and the working men were all against it; but every war carries with it such an atmosphere of lies and hatred that it has affected the common men in every country on earth, until they cannot see straight. After a country goes into war—and this is true even of Great Britain, which has always been a level-headed country—the atmosphere of lies and hatred is such that the people are confused. It acts just as it did with us in our infamous war against Spain. We could have settled that whole matter without the loss of a single man if we had only allowed our minister in Madrid to continue the negotiations and settle the matter. When any war is once on, as Elihu Root said, there is no question so trivial that nations will not fight over it if they want to fight, and no question so great that nations will not settle it if they want to do what is right and proper.

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There are no causes behind this war except the long rivalry of rich exploiters. It has been a war of steel and gold; an attempt to frighten competitors so that they will shrink back; the attempt of rival nations to protect their adventurers.

All of the nations are guilty; the one best prepared strikes first. The one with the longest arm is guilty of raking in most of the wealth of other nations. The whole thing is wrong. A nation has no right to protect its adventurers when they are engaged in crooked business. Either the nation must say that it will not protect these adventurers at all, they must take their chances, or else it must say that these men must be engaged in honest business; they must have an open sheet of sales, and conduct their business so that it will stand inspection. The railroads in Mexico are examples of this; anybody can buy into them. The illicit cases in Mexico belong for the most part to business of an irregular kind.

When this war is over, it will not have settled anything; no war does. Our great war in the United States didn't settle the question of union or slavery. Those questions were settled by the obvious fact that there was no room in the United States for rival republics; and slavery was doomed from the very beginning. It was settled in the human mind. The fact that one side starves out the other; the fact even that one side is beaten and the other victorious didn't settle anything; these questions are not settled until they are settled right, outside of war. I don't believe this war will settle anything at all. A war against militarism by militarism can only result in a victory for militarism. Militarism consists of a disposition to say, "We don't care for fair play; we want whatever we can get." It depends upon the spirit of the people, whether they are willing to treat other people fairly,

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whether they are willing to look folks in the face, or whether they prefer to depend upon the navy for their "punch," or whether they regard the navy as the instrument of liberty in the hands of a free people. The time must come when all the armies of the world will become police armies. The difference between the army and the police is that a soldier knows no law except the orders of his commanding officer; the policeman is subject to the law like any one else, and is just as likely to be punished as any other delinquent if he breaks it, while every law on earth or in heaven is broken by the soldier every day. No war can be righteous; it may be inevitable or necessary, but not righteous, because the first act in it is murder, and the next robbery. Each war is directed chiefly against women and children. The soldiers are protected; they are given every help in the way of medical service and nurses and food; but the women and children in time of war have no shelter whatever. If they get on the firing line, they are of no more importance than jack rabbits. One thing that we who are working for peace want to see is the body of every woman and every baby made as sacred as every flag is now.

But by working for peace, we mean more than just stopping the fighting as our end, and a return to six infernal years such as followed the seizure of Bosnia by Austria. We want internal peace, and real friendship between one nation and another. We want the boundaries of nations to be as safe as the interior. Many people in Europe think that the greatest achievement in America is this great boundary line, thirty-five hundred miles long, between the United States and Canada, without a soldier or a gunboat, and which is perfectly safe. There are no murders across that border or any other kind of danger, any more than across the borders of California and Ore-

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gon ; there are no men on either side who are not subject to law. Where nobody is loaded, nobody explodes ; and when nobody is loaded in Europe, there will be no explosion there, either.

This war is more hideous than any other war because people have been thrown from a high state of civilization into none at all. This is causing the greatest confusion ; it is going to set all the honorable and God-fearing people to struggling for a way of settling these problems. We cannot remain self-respecting as things are, and if we cannot reconcile the principle of nationality with our self-respect, the principle of nationality will have to go. The best thing I ever heard Ex-President Roosevelt say was that it always pays for a nation to be a gentleman.

The greatest development in international life, since the time of Jesus, was that during a time like this, but almost infinitely worse, because then each city was armed against every other, when, about three hundred years ago, Grotius wrote his book on international law. It is under a cloud now because one party in the war has never read it, and the other party thinks that the neutrals are so good-natured that they won't mind a few infractions. But a new internationalism will arise out of all this because we will make it arise. The young men of this century now alive will find opportunities of heroism that even the field of battle cannot offer. In fact, the field of battle is the last place to look for heroism at present, for the modern soldier is a mere target for machinery which he is forced to face. But outside the field of battle we are going to have much to do, as much as Luther and Wesley. We have to reconstruct the morals of the world as these men reconstructed its religion.

What, then, are we going to do? This war will probably end in something like a drawn battle. Jean de Bloch

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warned us that great armies could not be handled. We have brought the armies into battle lines as long as from here to Los Angeles; one runs from the Yser to Belfort, with millions of men on each side; the other from Lemberg to Chernowitz, and neither side, so far, has been able to gain much. There were thousands of men wounded in the battles about Ypres a few months ago, and nobody knows who won. Somebody asked the other day who won the California earthquake; of course, nobody won it; it was a defeat all around. The same is the fact here at Ypres where as many men fell as in the whole Civil War, and yet nobody knows who won that battle. In the Carpathians nobody knows much that is going on because the censor prevents; but as many men might be lost as at Jena or Waterloo without the name of the place ever coming to us, and if it did, we couldn't pronounce it, and so we would have to let it go. It is all useless, and will end in something like a drawn game.

Prophecy is usually impossible; nobody can see a week ahead. But the chances are that the war will end in the latter part of the summer in a drawn game, and that the treaty of peace will not settle anything, partly because the pressure to stop will be so great; the loss will outweigh everything. There has been nothing comparable to the losses in this war, both in money and men, and it must result in exhaustion. They have already spent on this war more than the value of all the property in Russia, more than all the farm lands in the United States and Canada are worth—all thrown away. They are spending in this war about ninety million dollars a day, and it must all be paid sooner or later. The principal never will be, but the interest must be paid during many years to come by the working men of Europe; for the "men higher up" will raise the cost of living and move

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the cost of war down until it falls upon the people, who, from day to day, are making additions to our national wealth. They are going to throw a great deal of it off on us; they have already made enterprise in this country impossible because no man knows how things are going to turn out, and that makes it impossible to borrow. And this has been true, not only since the beginning of the war, but for two or three years before, when people knew that the war was coming.

Ignorant people talk about Mr. Wilson's policy and the tariff being responsible for the hard times. Why, anything like that isn't a drop in the bucket compared with the suppression of European capital. There are two hundred billion dollars represented in the bonds and stocks of Europe; what are all those worth now? Nobody knows, now, where any corporation will stand when this war comes to an end.

I was in London during the first two months of the war, and I know that the British government spent seven hundred million dollars to keep the banks solvent. It got back all but fifty million dollars, but the reason for this action was that the banks had pledges to receive bills of lading and one thing and another that made it necessary for the government to do this if it didn't want an instantaneous crash. It was important for the whole world to keep the banks going, for London is the clearing house for the whole world. It would be a catastrophe for California if every bank disappeared; how much greater would have been the damage to the world if the London banks should disappear, where there was twenty times as much business of this kind as in any other city. Much of this now comes to New York, and thus may benefit us; but, in a general way, loss is loss, and a loss anywhere in

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the world is distributed everywhere, just as the loss from the San Francisco fire was scattered all over the world.

I was in Auckland, New Zealand, at that time, and the wealthy men were scurrying about there in New Zealand, to get money to pay their obligations on the fire insurance; our San Francisco fire made a panic in New Zealand.

There is going to be an exhaustion of life in this war that will be tremendous. There are already about three million Germans killed and about as many more on the other side. When I was in Bulgaria, a while ago, I gave a lecture in the great hall in Sofia. The subject was "Bulgaria in the Eyes of the World." After the lecture was over, some eight young women, all of them very attractive and all dressed in black, came up and spoke to me, and they said, "We are the widows of officers in the Bulgarian army who were killed in the war; we want to thank you in God's name for what you have done to keep Bulgaria from going into the next war." Bulgaria is still out of it, but the pressure upon her is very strong to get her into the war, especially on the part of Germany, to get her to come in on their side. The people want to keep out, or, if they do go into it, they want to go in on the side of the allies. As conditions are now, in that country, Macedonia is full of wandering bands of farmers who have lost all their property and who are invading neighboring countries. In one place, as a result of the last war, a town was cut off from its own railroad station. That sort of thing makes people dissatisfied. When there is nothing else to do, the people take to the road. There were a million refugees when I was there, going out of the country. A population about as large as that of California was ordered to get out; to take with them

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what they could, and leave the rest. It isn't strange that some of those people should become brigands and outlaws.

What is going to be the cost of this war, the effect on future generations of killing all these men? My friend, Mr. Stead, used to be fond of talking about the picked half-million who are the natural leaders, the educated men. In Great Britain, about two-thirds of the college men are in the army. There is not an athlete left in Oxford nor in Cambridge. The same thing is true in Germany and in France; the universities are simply marking time. While this picked half-million is being sent off to be killed, London alone is carefully preserving two hundred thousand men, men of the slums. I have seen them, shambling, adenoidal, soaked with liquor and with vice. They have been saved to be the fathers of the next generation. There is an Egyptian proverb which runs like this: "Father a weed, mother a weed, do you expect the daughter to be saffron root?" Do you expect the children of these men to be British yeomen?

The greatest danger in this war is that the very men who are the most fit to settle the questions that will arise after the war is over, are precisely the ones who will be killed during the war. It is going to leave a weakened nation, and our statistics all go to show that it will leave a weakened nation for a hundred years to come. It will be at least a hundred years before they can come back to the level of force and initiative that they have now, for these are the very qualities most desired in a soldier. It has taken a long time to get over the effects of the Napoleonic wars, and the British wars in India, and the losses in this war are far heavier than in any of those.

Some one said the other day that the peace palace at the Hague was the world's grimmest jest, its most costly failure. Carnegie gave the kingdom of Holland a mil-

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lion and a half, and the Dutch people have put up some fine, red brick buildings with white trimmings, among bulb gardens, as their fashion is. It isn't a palace; just a great hall for large meetings, and smaller halls for other purposes, and it only differs from this building here in being handsomer outside and in its being possible to hear some one inside.

Since I began talking to you, the nations of Europe have already spent money enough to build a peace palace, and before this time to-morrow they will have spent enough to build forty peace palaces. If the war goes on for a year longer, they will spend enough to build a peace palace like that in every town in Christendom, and in heathendom, too, if there is any difference after the war.

That brings me to say one thing. People say Christianity didn't stop the war. That is a compliment; it is equivalent to saying that war is wicked. It didn't stop it; Christianity didn't try; if Christian people had, they would have succeeded. Finance didn't stop the war, nor industrialism, nor socialism; nothing stopped it. Although not one man in a thousand in any of those countries wanted war, there was no voice raised against it. There was no way for public opinion to be expressed, no way to dissipate the atmosphere of lies that surrounded everything. The people of every nation believe that the war was begun by some one else and that they are fighting in self-defense. Somebody must be mistaken, and when the mistake comes out, there will be indignation. There isn't a man bold enough to say, "I wanted this war"; not a nation that will stand up and say, "I wanted the war and brought it on." Maybe the people who brought it on will never bring it on again for fear they may be caught, and it might be dangerous to be caught at it; for

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the people will find themselves loaded down with debts that they cannot pay.

One cause of the war was because people would not stand the burden of militarism much longer.

It had come to the point where British bankers would not loan money on the continent any more, because the people were likely to say, "We have borrowed twenty-seven thousand million dollars which have been spent on war and there is no way to pay any of it back; we ought to pay the interest, but we cannot pay the principal." So the banks have seen the handwriting on the wall and the possibility of repudiation. How much will be repudiated, it is impossible to say, but whenever it is repudiated, it will be no longer in the hands of bankers and speculators, but in the hands of widows and orphans and trust funds. There are a great many people who are pensioners, living on the interest of borrowed money, who would be very helpless if their income were destroyed.

When this war is over, there are some things that we hope to work out. When I say "we," I mean that there are twelve distinct plans which have been developed for working these matters out, by different groups. The oldest one of these plans was drawn up by the Union of Democratic Control in London, of which Norman Angell was at the head, and he is one of the great citizens of all time. He is still a citizen of California, and that helps to give him a voice in the old world, because Californians can generally be heard wherever they are.

The next was the plan of the socialists of southern Germany; these men have come out clearly and strongly as to what they want.

Next comes the World Peace Foundation of Boston. I belong to that and helped draw up their plan.

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Then comes the Women's Peace Party, which is, perhaps, more important than any because women make about half the population on this side, and will form about two thirds of the population on the other side, on account of the killing of the men; and the leader of the whole movement, so far as America is concerned, is one of the wisest women that ever lived—Jane Addams. They are going to hold a meeting at the Hague, at which the women of all countries will be represented.

Then there are also the women of Norway and Switzerland, and there are other groups in different parts of the world, including the labor party, and all of them have made statements of what they want.

The treaty of peace probably will not incorporate much of all this; it may be like the Treaty of Ghent, and say simply, "We hereby stop fighting." There will be bitterness and recriminations, and it may be as well if there is no definite victory, for victory is often more dangerous than defeat, as has already been shown in the case of many nations. It leads to vain glory and extravagance, while defeat often leads to economy and industry, and helps make heroes of the men in civil life instead of those on the field of battle.

We want to see Belgium restored; military necessity for us here is no plea for destroying neutral nations. The world belongs to the neutral people, to the people who are not fighting. The nations who are fighting, no matter how good the cause they fight for, become lawless and insane, and the world should belong to the people who keep their heads.

We want to see France restored. The discipline of defeat has done France a great deal of good ever since the military element there died out twenty years ago. Since then, France has been on the upgrade more than any

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other nation in Europe. The evils of long-continued war which they had to overcome, were very great, but they have been slowly and steadily progressing; and in this war you will notice that France has kept her head as well as any of the nations. She was almost helpless. Her hands are not clean, for she had no business in Morocco, and she has meddled in the Balkans, but the French people were not responsible; it was impossible to control all the great capitalists and exploiters. The body of the French people has been steadily rising in the scale of progress, and we don't want to see anything taken away from France.

We want democratic control; we want the people to have something to say as to whether there shall be war; they are the ones who have to pay, who have to die, who have to bear the long suffering, and yet the people have nothing to say about it even in France and England, for even there these things are settled almost entirely without consulting them.

We want a council of people to succeed the concert of powers. The concert has accomplished all sorts of mischief in trying to maintain a balance in the Balkan states. If those states had been allowed to keep together, they would have made a power that would have tipped the scales. Accordingly they have been kept irritated. There should be no more quarrel between Bulgaria and Servia than between California and Oregon, if things were rationally managed.

We want to see military preparedness stopped; nobody ought to be prepared to kill. The law will stop you if you go about the streets with "military preparedness." Every nation prepared for war is a danger. This nation will never be really prepared for war because our nation is not built that way; a nation so enlightened as to grant

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suffrage to its women can never be turned into a military nation. The reason why it is so difficult to get conscription in England is because it is a free country.

We want to see the Hague conferences, which ought to be taking place every eight years, we want that to become a real thing; to make it honest, and we don't want men sent there to defeat the very things that they ought to sustain. The United States has sent a man every time for that particular purpose. When an effort was made to prohibit the dropping of bombs on cities, it was an American who made it impossible, by the enforcement of the unit rule. That is one of the things that have made this present war so contemptible, is the use of bombs in attacking innocent people, and it was America's insistence on the unit rule that makes it possible, because a man was sent to the conference who didn't want to stop war.

Besides the Hague Congress, we want to see the Hague Tribunal developed as a permanent court. Once you have a permanent court, there will probably be almost no questions to refer to it. We have here forty-eight separate States; from the European point of view, you might suppose they would be always quarreling. How many questions have been brought before our Supreme Court, involving complaints of one State against another? I only remember two, and neither was important. There has been no serious feeling between the States since we have had the Supreme Court, and there would be nothing in Europe. People talk about our troubles with Japan, and scoundrels and fools talk about an inevitable war; but there has never been any difficulty with Japan that couldn't be settled over night, if we wanted to. There is one real question, and that is whether the State of California has the right to drag international questions into the United States, and deal with them as she chooses. If

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she has, she has, and if she hasn't, she must quit; but that is not a Japanese problem, nor do the Japanese consider it so except certain jingo newspapers, Japanese and American. Just as soon as these things leave the first page of these papers, nothing more is thought about it. I have heard men declare that we must fight Great Britain, and in a week we had forgotten what the trouble was. We don't want to kill men for such reasons as that; there is no sense in it. There is nothing so preposterous as war.

We want to see a reduction of armaments. There have been a good many plans for this, and it must come, because the nations simply cannot stand the burden of what they are paying; it is too expensive. They are carrying too many kings for their business, just as some kinds of business carry too many partners to be supported by the profits. If they were to let us settle that, I think we should be disposed to turn out a few of them and let them go into some more honorable business. Among those to keep, I think we would pick out the king of Belgium first, and after that the king of Italy, and after that we might be puzzled. We want to see the navies and armies turned into international police forces of some kind. They seem to think that it is necessary to guard the ocean from pirates. Well, there are still a few that come from China, but not many. We want to police the ocean; but more important than that, we want to make the ocean free and open all the time, just as the sidewalks and streets are open for traffic, no matter what private quarrels may be going on in the apartment houses and hotels; that sort of quarrel is not allowed to disturb the street, nor should quarreling nations be allowed to disturb the ocean; they ought to be obliged to keep their warships sealed up inside the three-mile limit; they have no busi-

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ness in the open sea. We want to see that neutralized and free for all the world, and all the channels of traffic as well. One of the most prolific causes of ill feeling between Germany and Russia is that half of Russia is shut off from the sea, and they are forced to ship across Germany. We want to see the Dardanelles, and Gibraltar, and Aden, and the Kiel Canal, all of them internationalized, without fortifications, and free to every ship. There would be a tremendous gain in friendship and freedom from wars.

Constantinople has for so many years been a disgrace, partly because it has been allowed to shut in traffic. We want to see it made a neutralized state, constructed out of what is left of Turkey in Europe and part of Turkey in Asia, and made a free port. Constantinople has the most beautiful site of any city in the world, but it has been for all these years merely a dirty camp of grafters; the government has been as bad as possible, and then some. If that were made a free city, under the protection of the nations of Europe, there would be a wonderful future before that city. There is no reason why so magnificent a site should not have a wonderful future, and if Constantinople were allowed to develop, Smyrna and Salonica would also develop. Salonica was a city in the time of St. Paul, and the people then were called the Thessalonians. Thousands of people have been forced out since a year ago in March, because it has been impossible since the Balkan war for men to make a living, in spite of the fact that Salonica is right across from Mt. Olympus, right across from Greece. It is impossible to live there, for the land is being constantly tramped over by armies and brigands, and this sort of thing has been going on ever since the time of St. Paul. I have seen rich farming lands within a hundred miles of the city, all grown up with

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briars and weeds, because it was not safe for the people to plough.

We want to see Armenia, which has suffered so long, be made autonomous in some way. Russia wants to take Armenia to her bosom, and Armenia may consent; there are degrees even in hell, and they may prefer to leave Turkey and go over to Russia.

Poland is torn all to pieces—she has been for the last century, and is still torn between the conflicting armies. Her citizens are fighting under three flags, none of them their own, and Poland has been getting even by oppressing the Jews, and the whole thing is as bad as it can be. We would like to see something done for Poland; Austrian Poland has had some autonomy, but the other parts have not, and the Poles have been subject to great oppression.

We would like to see Finland have a fair chance. The people there are among the most enlightened in the world, but they lost their autonomy some time ago.

We would like to see Alsace and Lorraine have autonomy somehow. The difficulty has been, not so much that they were French and hated the Germans, but that they were Germans taken back but not made citizens. They were Germans of the second class, subject to all sorts of petty oppression. One man, who was going out of business, was brought before the police court and fined because the words in his announcement had been arranged in the French instead of the German order; barbers have been punished because they used French words, and a milliner was fined for using the word "mode." There is no German word for "mode," but they insisted that the milliner should use a germanized form. This has been worse in Alsace, where the people are all of German

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blood, than in Loraine. In Alsace ten of the cities were once free cities of the empire, and they don't forget it.

So we want to see Alsace govern itself. Many people have demanded that these provinces should have a vote as to which country they should belong to, but it is not that so much as a question of their being equal when they have chosen. Association with Germany has many advantages; the interests of Alsace are German; they want to be Germans if they can be Germans in full equality. If they are to be French, then they want all the rights of other Frenchmen. France has made one mistake. Instead of making itself a federation, the old provinces have been abolished, and France has become too much centralized, and this has militated against the outlying districts. Both Alsace and Loraine were opposed to this. So we find, when we come to study any of these questions that there is a great deal of inside history, so that these things are not so simple as they look. It isn't enough to say to these people, "Vote where you want to go"; that doesn't answer the question. The question is answered in the Scriptures, "In honor preferring one another." We must treat one another decently.

We want to see tariff abolished. We have one here, but it isn't so very harmful, comparatively. But Europe is not much larger than the United States. We have free trade among the States, but they have tariffs, not merely for protection, but for aggravation. Russia has been aggravated by Germany, and there has been irritation between Germany and France, and between Austria and Servia. Servia has been so shut in that it is almost all anything is worth to ship anything in. Rumania is shut in, and so is Bulgaria by Greece. There is what is called the "dead sea of commerce" in that region, where it is impossible to get the products out. I have seen farmers

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bringing Turkish tobacco a hundred miles over the Greek frontier, paying thirty-three and one-third per cent duty, and then transporting it on camels to Salonica and there paying harbor dues. That doesn't leave very much for the man who raises the tobacco, and it might increase the price.

These tariffs are an aggravation everywhere. One of the things that made Germany strong was getting rid of all her internal tariffs; getting rid of all of them made commerce possible inside of Germany. The military development has been merely a parasite on the progress of that country, as it has on that of every other.

We want to stop sending our armies and navies to foreign lands to help adventurers there; we don't want to send our army into Mexico unless we know exactly what we are doing. The men we are asked to protect may be filibusters or gamblers, and there is no reason for sending our American boys down there to avenge the death of men like that. It is worth while to make them pay for it, but not worth sending others down to be killed, too.

I have talked longer than I meant to, and I haven't yet told you half that I wanted to of what we hope to do. There is going to be enough for all the young men to do; but at present the main thing to do is to keep this country steady so that our influence will always stand for fair play and peace.

Lincoln's greatness consisted in the fact that he could count the cost, and America should do just that—count the cost of any line of action.

The great war will come to its end some time, through exhaustion, through failure of finance, through starvation, through sorrow, for every nation engaged is already a nation of mourners. There is little prospect that the war will end with any victory at arms. It may be that

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Jean de Bloch was right. The armies of to-day with their hundreds of miles of battle front are too large to be maneuvered. The giant guns and swift instruments of murder balance one another. Already the chief force of the war is directed against non-combatants. Little headway has been made by either side in what is commonly thought to be legitimate warfare. Except for the crushing of Belgium, who had no part in the quarrel, the German armies have accomplished little. Except for parrying the stab at France, the allies have made small headway. And everywhere the non-combatants have suffered as much as the armies.

The warfare at sea on both sides is directed mainly against the property of private citizens. The raids on seaside resorts, the capture of merchant ships, the whole matter of war zone blockade and food contraband is directed against people who have no way of striking back. This is not war, but piracy. The only difference between this and the old-time piracy is that the modern freebooters frame their own rules, while the old-time outlaw defied all statutes.

Sooner or later we must expect the final treaty of peace. There are many things we should like to put into this treaty, things essential to its future security and the well-being of Europe; but we shall not get many of them. We may not get any. The chances are that the drawn game will end in a truce, not of peace, but of exhaustion. This may be best, for the real enemy of civilization, the obsession of military force which has subdued Germany, might overpower a victorious Britain also. Defeat is often salutary, and all must meet at last in the dust of defeat.

After the treaty is signed, the real struggle begins. Then comes the test of our mettle. Can we build up a

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solid foundation of peace amid the havoc of greed and hate? The war settles nothing. Constructive work belongs to peace. It may take fifty years of peace to put Europe in order. When the killing is stopped, permanently or for a breathing spell, the forces of civilization must mobilize for law and order.

There are many things we need to make European civilization stable and wholesome. Every one of these will help. We will push whatever we can. We want foreign exploitation limited by law and justice. We want foreign adventurers no longer backed by diplomacy and armed force. We want no more "red rubber," red copra, or red diamonds. We want open diplomacy and we want democratic control of foreign politics. Whatever is secret is corrupt, and the management of armies by a select few, makes them a menace to the many.

We would have a council of people instead of a concert of powers. The people who pay and die should know what they pay for and why they are called upon to die. We want all private profit taken away from war. We want to see armies and navies brought down from the maximum of expense to the minimum of safety. We want to see conscription abolished and military service put on the same basis as other trades. The main cause of modern war is the need of finding something for armies and navies to do. We want to do away with piracy at sea and murder in the air. We want to conserve the interests of neutrals and non-combatants. We want to take from war its loot and its glory. Without these, the one or the other, it would not be easy to drive men to fight. We would hope for an abatement of tariffs and of all obstacles that check the flow of commerce. With a free current of trade, the eastern half of Europe would lose its long unrest. We cannot mend all the defects of geography, but

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we may refrain from aggravating them. Land-locked nations will not be tempted to hew a way to the sea if we do not make the sea artificially distant by barriers to trade. We would like to see men and nations pay their debts, not struggle in rivalry in the evil art of borrowing.

Then we would like to see manhood suffrage everywhere, and womanhood suffrage, too. We would like to see parliaments made effective, not set apart as debating societies, without power of action. We would like to see land reforms, tax reforms, reforms in schools and universities, in judicial procedure, in religious freedom, in sanitation and temperance, in the elimination of caste and privilege wherever entrenched. We would see every man who lives in a country a potential citizen of it, if he minds his own business and meets the requirements made of other citizens. We would like to see the map of Europe redrawn a bit in the interests of freedom and fair play. We would like to see the small nations made as stable as great ones, for a small nation, if relieved from the terror of war, other things being equal, may do more than its share in the work of civilization. The greatness of a nation has nothing to do with its bigness. We believe that a nation can have no welfare independent of the individual welfare of its people. That nation is greatest whose people have most individual initiative and most abundant life.

We would like to see Belgium restored to the "permanent neutrality" which is its right, and Luxemburg as well. We believe that the "Balkans should belong to the Balkans," and Serbia to the Serbians. We would like to see, if may be, Constantinople neutralized and autonomy restored to Alsace-Lorraine, to Finland, to Armenia. We would like to hear from the Danes in northern Schleswig, and from the Poles in Posen and Galicia, the people con-

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sulted over every change in boundary lines, not forgetting that to pull up new roots may not atone for the past injury to the old ones. We would like to see the Hague conferences made serious by sending to them real statesmen, intent on the welfare of the people, not diplomats, sparring for advantage. We would like to see the Hague Tribunal dignified as the International Court of the world, to create international law by its precedents. We would like to see judicial procedure and arbitral decisions take the place of war talk and war preparations. We should like to see the channels of commerce opened wide, neutralized, unfortified, and free to all the world, the Bosphorus, the Dardanelles, the straits of Denmark, the straits of Gibraltar, the Red Sea, and the canals of Suez, Panama, and Kiel as well. Whatever is good for the world is good for every nation in it, and whatever really aids one nation, must help them all. All this leaves plenty for the friends of peace to do.

Not much of it will go into the treaty of peace. We will not be discouraged if we get none of it. We have time on our side, and the opportunity for education. A few resolute men, like-minded and fearless of consequences, brought on this war; a few men, like-minded and resolute, could make war impossible, if they had the backing the weight of their cause demands. To get peace is to do away with standing incentives to war. War itself cannot do this. War cannot end war. Only the activities of peace can end war; and among these activities he who looks for it may find in full abundance, the long-sought "moral equivalent for war."

CHAPTER IX.
THE PACIFIC COAST AND THE PEACE
MOVEMENT.

BY ROBERT CROMWELL ROOT.

My theme this afternoon is the interest of the Pacific Coast in the peace movement. We sometimes wonder what the interest of the United States may be in the peace movement, or what the interest of Europe may be in the peace movement, or what the interest of Asia may be in the peace movement; but I should like to consider the interest of our own portion of this great Union, and speak of the interest of the Pacific Coast in the world-wide peace movement. Not that we wish to estimate ourselves beyond our due, but rather to see what the part is that we must play, in world affairs, and the part that we should take in national and international affairs. For the question involved in the peace movement is not simply a local one, although we shall view it in a measure from a local standpoint, but is international and worldwide; and just as we are a part of the union of American States, we are, in a still larger measure, a part of the world, and we must decide what our destiny and our part in the world's affairs is to be. For whether we will or no, you and I are not merely citizens of California, we are not merely citizens of the United States; to-day you and I are world citizens, and we must measure up to the standard of world citizenship or we fail in our duty to our fellow-men. We fail in our duty to our fellow-men unless we measure up to the standards of international citizenship.

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Now, in the first place, I want to consider the interest of the Pacific Coast from the commercial standpoint. I shall take that first because I consider it, important as it is, the least important of all, for it is the standard of the dollar rather than of the man. But from the standpoint of the dollar, what is the interest of the Pacific Coast in the peace movement? Much in every way. The great things of the future, if you will but study them, you must decide, it seems to me, are to be around the borders of the Pacific Ocean. We of the Pacific Coast face one side of that ocean, and the rising powers of the Orient face the other side. Now, what is the commercial problem? You and I can scarcely understand it when we recall the fact that in China there are four hundred and thirty million human beings, just in that one nation, and that nation is beginning to rise and come into its own. And that nation has tremendous resources. It can already, I am told on good authority, put down pig iron in Pittsburgh cheaper than the Pittsburgh manufacturers can manufacture it for themselves. Why? China has coal and iron in immense quantities side by side. You who are familiar with commercial developments in Europe, will recall the fact that England's supremacy commercially is due largely to the fact that she had, side by side, coal and iron to manufacture at the time when she had to change her policy from an agricultural nation to a manufacturing nation.

Beginning back in 1741-46 England began to make this change, when she could no longer feed her own people, but was compelled to become a manufacturing nation. China is more fortunate than England, because she can not only feed her own people, but can also produce manufactures cheaper than any other country on earth; and the Chinese young men are gathering into the colleges

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everywhere in this country and in Europe that they may fit themselves for developing the immense opportunities of their own country.

The adjoining nation of Japan is in somewhat the same position. These two nations are just emerging into a plane of citizenship comparable to our own. They have opened the doors of their country to our civilization. What is going to happen when China and Japan import as many goods as the United States does, per capita, or as much as England or Germany or France? We can hardly get an inkling of the future possibilities of trade with the Orient.

Some of you have heard of Wu Ting Fang. On one occasion, when he was in America, he made this statement, speaking of his own country, "If the Chinese were to lengthen their cotton shirts but one inch, that one inch of additional cloth would consume the entire product of the cotton fields of the United States for one year." From that alone you can get some idea of the possibilities of trade with China. It would take thirteen million bales of cotton during one year, for just that one additional inch.

China imports to-day only eighty-five cents per capita of imported goods, but when she increases that to the standard of the United States, or only half our standard, which is, I believe, eighteen or twenty dollars per capita—and that day is coming—what will that mean? It will mean the extension of factories and mills and farms and of every avenue for the employment of labor. What will it mean when China buys like that for her people? It will mean that we can sell more of our goods to China than ever before, in increasing ratio and increasing quantities. Goods from the United States and from every nation will go to the Orient. It means larger employment of labor,

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more wages, more consumption of raw materials, and a better industrial and social condition of the people that take part in that trade that is going to develop between China and the United States. If China can produce her own food largely, and also manufacture, as the indications are that she can, so that she can outsell other nations, the question arises, Would it be better to make friends with China, or enemies? The question of war and peace is involved. For it seems to me very evident that war is the greatest destroyer of commerce. Take our Civil War; it nearly destroyed northern commerce by means of the southern ships of war. War is the great destroyer of commerce. Commerce is supported by industry and labor, so that a large commerce means, directly and indirectly, better conditions for labor, more factories and mills, and a greater extension of the benefits of the industry of men. With the extension of commerce into Japan and China, there must go a development of our commerce, and with it a development of friendship and international ties in various degrees of intimacy between the Orient and the Occident.

It seems to me that as we study this question of the Pacific Coast and its relation to the Orient, it becomes a question of world peace depending not merely upon the citizens of California, Oregon, and Washington, but upon all those interested in the Pacific Coast.

One thing further in regard to commerce. If China and Japan and their four or five hundred million people are going to be such a significant commercial factor in the future, affecting our welfare or ill-fare, what would be the sane policy of this country? To develop that commerce and make it what it should be, and take our share of it and prosper thereby; or shall we, with the short-sightedness of the militarist, the short-sightedness com-

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mon to the war advocate and to the jingo—shall we destroy the possibilities of future trade with the Orient, with the millions in China and Japan and the Malay peninsula? Shall we not cultivate it, merely from the standard of dollars and cents that our own people may be benefited? It would be simply good common sense; it would bring prosperity to us as a people and to our laboring classes.

Not only is that true, but there is another point. Supposing, as I indicated a while ago, that we should be foolish enough not to make friends with China, with its great natural resources and its teeming millions, far beyond anything we can attain in centuries, for they have four hundred per cent the start of us in population. China has resources beyond the natural resources of the United States in minerals; she has all that is necessary to build up a nation. Shall we make friends, which is just as easy as to make them our enemies? Why not make a friend of China? A few years ago, when we returned ten or eleven million dollars of indemnity, did we not make a fast friend of China? We know now that China will stand by the United States just as long as the United States stands by China.

I remember well listening to one of the most eloquent Chinamen I ever heard speak, a citizen of this great city, Ning Pong Choo. He said that on one occasion, when speaking to a lot of teachers, he pointed to the Stars and Stripes and said, "That is the banner of a nation that China will never lift her hand against." Why? He had just referred to the fact that we had been a friend to China, that we had acted justly toward China, and because of that, this brilliant Chinaman, speaking for his nation, said what he did. We have won her friendship, and with friendship will come trade; war would destroy both.

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Again, what is the interest of the Pacific Coast in the matter of peace with Japan? Let me go back just a little in the history of the relations between Japan and the United States. You remember that about 1852 or 1853 one of our sailors, Commodore Perry, somewhat diplomatically as well as somewhat forcibly, opened the doors of Japan to western civilization. Japan appreciated that act of ours very much. Japan also appreciated the friendly attitude of our ministers who went to Japan soon afterward. Read the story of those early ministers of ours to Japan and of the attitude they took toward Japan, and you will see that for a long time, at least, Japan was most friendly to the United States. In 1863, unfortunately for us and some of the other nations, some of our vessels anchored in a roadstead in Japan in a forbidden place. They were warned that it was not a proper place, but stubborn as they were, the English, French, and some of our own captains refused to move, and some guns were fired at them from batteries on shore, and of course they fired back and did considerable damage to the batteries. But at that time they were satisfied with that. The next year, French and English and American vessels entered the roadstead and demolished it and exacted an indemnity of which our share amounted to \$785,000. Time went on, and in 1883 our Congress returned that unjust claim against Japan, because it was an unjust claim, and that made Japan our friend and tied her to us with hooks of steel. Japan felt that we were her friends because of that act, and she has acted ever since as though she wanted to be friends with us.

Just one other thing to show how Japan appreciated this act of returning money which we had collected from her unjustly, how she appreciated our fair dealing. Do you remember how, following the Golden Rule, what

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happened when this city lay in ashes, following the earthquake, Japan turned over to this city two hundred and forty thousand dollars in cash to help San Francisco. We had played the part of a friend and had acted in the spirit of the Golden Rule, and when opportunity offered, Japan did the same to us. When our fleet went to Japan in 1908, no country on earth gave that fleet so royal a welcome as did the little empire of Japan. Just a few days ago, over here on the exposition grounds, at the time that the Japanese village was dedicated, some of you may have heard Mayor Rolph state that Japan proposed to give her beautiful building, with its gardens, valued at a million dollars, to this country as a mark of her friendship and her appreciation of our friendly attitude toward her.

Do you not see how we must cultivate friendship with the Orient; how we may win them as friends, and through our friendly relationship with them, develop a tremendous trade with these nations?

But if, on the other hand, we are not wise enough to make friends, and instead choose to make enemies of them, there are tremendous possibilities of evil on this Pacific Coast, as well as for good. That is what I want you to bear in mind this afternoon. I want you to put all the emphasis on the tremendous possibilities for good, and to look at the other side only as a warning to turn us away from a wrong attitude in dealing with the Orient. We are sometimes told by the Jingo that Japan wants to fight the United States. Let me suggest that after what I have just said, it must be evident that Japan has done everything to show her good will. But suppose we should stir up ill will. I remember a few years ago, when the Japanese fleet came to Los Angeles, the admiral uttered these words in a speech, "The strength and the efficiency of the Japanese navy is due to the influence of

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the United States." The increase of our own army and navy had influenced Japan to make hers also strong. If we build up a great army and navy, we invite them to do the same, and when there are great armies and navies on both sides, you know what happens; you know what has happened in Europe. What happened in Mexico in 1841; what happened in the Philippines? Our policy should not be to build up a big army and navy, because the nations of the Orient will follow in our footsteps. They look upon us as their teacher, and the way we go, they will go. And as we know, armies and navies are not the guarantors of peace, but a temptation to destroy.

There is one other thing in connection with the Orient, and that is our international relations. As a part of this great nation, we are interested in its international affairs. California herself has brought us into international discord with Japan, and I regret that it has done so; I regret that the alien land law was passed in California. For, as a matter of fact, the Japanese population was decreasing instead of increasing at the time that law was passed, and time would have settled that question better than legal enactment. It was a matter that should have been dealt with from Washington and not from Sacramento. Such questions should be dealt with only by the National Government, since they involve international relations.

We must deal with these questions from a national standpoint and not from a local one; the latter course leads to endless confusion and endless conflict, whereas if they are left to the National Government, they can be solved far more justly and easily than from the capitals of forty-eight States.

I wish that every one were familiar with some books recently published on this subject, such as "Asia at the

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Door of the United States," written by a Japanese who has also written other books which are well worth reading. Or read "Japan's Message to America," and Doctor Aked's reply to it. These questions concern you and me as citizens of this great State and Nation, and as world citizens also, and if we are to measure up to the standard of international citizenship, we must study them, and they must be settled in the light of justice and fairness and the Golden Rule.

One other reason why the Pacific Coast is interested in the peace movement you will understand if you will spend a few hours at the exposition. You will find that the Orient can give us many lessons in art and in literature. I remember a friend of mine who was at the St. Louis Exposition told me that one of the members of the Committee on Fine Arts who judged the exhibits there, had said that the committee was repeatedly required to give awards to Japan, until finally the Japanese member of that committee actually begged the committee not to give so many prizes to the people of his nation. "For," said the Japanese artist, "my country has been producing art of that character for two hundred and fifty years, but we were never esteemed a great nation until we built battleships and began to kill people." What a criticism that was of our standards! The Japanese are an artistic nation, and we can learn through them of art and literature and some important industries. For indeed I want to state the truth, even though it hurts. We, in California, can learn something of industry from the Japanese in our midst; they have taken some of the waste places of the State and made gardens of them. I invite you to inspect certain districts of California where they have done just that. And I have no special plea to make for the Japanese

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more than any other nation ; my plea is merely for justice ; right, not might.

For these reasons I am convinced that we of the Pacific Coast should study these questions of international peace, not only from the standpoint of industry and commerce, but from the higher standpoint of art and literature, and still higher than these, by the command of God himself, who has commanded that we shall love our neighbor as ourself. Here we have in the Orient untold millions of neighbors, and the future civilization is going to be largely determined by the influence of Christian men. Let us not forget the request of the young republic of China when she asked for the prayers of the Christian world that she might be guided in the ways of right and justice. This is the greatest opportunity that ever opened to the Christian missionary and to this country, for this nation lies right opposite our own shores.

It is a big question—immense ; not one of the little things that may come into our lives, but the biggest question that confronts the world to-day, this problem of the Occident and the Orient. Shall we face it like men, or shall we slink away from it like cowards? That is the question we must answer. Shall we do the right thing ; do to them as we would have them do to us? Shall we not be brave and true to ourselves and our fellows?

My time has come to an end, and I have just one thought more. I believe, as Bobbie Burns sang a hundred and fifty years ago, that a man's a man the world o'er, and I believe that it is your duty and mine to work to bring about the brotherhood of man. The time will come when humanity will rejoice, and men and women join hands, and these problems be resolved rightly and justly to all humanity.

CHAPTER X.

WAR AND SOCIAL PROGRESS, OR THE DIRECT ACTION OF WAR ON THE HUMAN RACE.

BY CHARLES ATWOOD KOFOID.

It may seem to some of you very strange that I should have put up all these charts of potato beetles and sweet corn and primroses, and you may suspect that in some way the college has made a mistake and sent over an agricultural lecturer. But before I get through I hope that I shall make plain to you that if the nations of Europe had learned the lessons which biology is teaching, they would have waited a few days before going to war, for if modern science teaches one thing finally, it is that war is a biological mistake and a failure, and that these primroses and beetles have taught one thing that we should learn, namely, that the human stock is of great value, and is governed by law, just as is the stock of any other living thing. We have hitherto taken it for granted that the Creator took care of the human stock, quite too much; we have been very careful about the horses and the pigs and the chickens, but very careless about our responsibility for the preservation and the type of the human race, which is only temporarily in our charge.

This war which is now going on in Europe, illustrates in human society the ruthless application of one phase of biological teaching, which was the outcome in part of the industrial struggle of the last century. Charles Darwin lived in an atmosphere of the great struggle between labor and capital, which exterminated so many of the smaller interests, and resulted in the survival of the

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strong, and he evolved the doctrine of natural selection, which is, that the progress of living things has been the result of a struggle for existence, with the resulting survival of the fittest ; that is, of the strongest, and the gradual growth and differentiation of the living world and of human society in consequence of this struggle.

He was not himself an experimentalist. He thought the process went on so slowly, that it was cumulative, and took such a long time to be accomplished, that it would be foolish to try to experiment himself to see whether this struggle and its effects could be actually demonstrated. Patient workers since his day have forged a chain of evidence that has shown to the world at large that it is possible to question the force of the dogma that dominated the industrial development of the last century, and that has been one of the great factors in the minds of men which has justified the modern industrial system as right because it is according to nature, as Darwin taught, and which has also underlain the thinking of the men who have controlled the destinies of all the nations. It was embodied in the books of Treitschke and Bernhardi. The latter makes the statement that no nation is entitled to existence that does not fight for it ; that war is one of the methods of national progress and that the important thing is merely to choose the right time when you are sure to win ; that that is the method of national advancement. When he says this, he is not speaking of the preservation and evolution of the human race, of the people, but of national advancement.

Now, since the time of Darwin's teaching, biological science has made certain discoveries, which have given us pause, and perhaps led to a different opinion as to the relative importance of this process of natural selection in nature in one important particular, in its being the source

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and cause of the evolution of life and of man, and the fundamental principle leading to the higher forms and types of life. According to Darwin's teaching, evolution is a very slow process.

Now, these lines of development in recent times rest on two main lines of discovery. One is the careful analysis of the process which we call heredity, and the other a careful, experimental analysis of the effects of the environment on living things; of the changes which it produces.

In the first place, to take the analysis of heredity. The discovery of the brilliant aniline dyes, and of paraffine, etc., has made it possible to magnify plants and animals enormously and thus see the processes that go on in the living substance. It has thus been shown that all living things are made of little chemical centers, each capable of doing work, of releasing energy. We call them cells. They have a chemical center, a structural center, which is different from the material around it; it is a center of the surrounding parts, with complementary qualities. For instance, one has a positive and one a negative electric pole, and the interaction between this center and the surrounding substance results in the release of energy.

All plants and animals start from one single cell, which results from the union of two parent cells. If you pick out the little center, the cell will disintegrate and die; it is necessary that the two parts should both be present.

The two parents contribute absolutely equally to the single cell that starts life, so that every individual is a double, made up of two complete sets of little structures, one set from one parent and one from the other parent, and is a complex of both lines of ancestry.

When these little sex cells are formed, they are not always alike, even when they are formed from the same

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parents, because they go back into the double sets, and pick out, as it were, one single implement from the double equipment. They will take this characteristic from one parent, and one from the other, and so build up a different character from either parent, and that is why children of the same parents are unlike. This contributes to our appreciation of individuality. All persons are different from one another unless they are identical twins, and each one is a part of the same cell and has the same equipment as the other. This is the scientific foundation of the story of the little girl who told her mother that she had had two baths that morning and her twin sister none; they were so much alike that they could deceive even their own mother.

Organisms, then, are doubles; they get their ancestry equally from both parents.

When we cross two unlike individuals and unite them in a hybrid and then in the second generation that hybrid again distributes the qualities from its two parents, it will distribute them in combinations different from either parent.

For instance, when we cross these two different colored strains of corn, light and dark, rough and smooth, we get, in the second generation, four kinds of corn instead of the two which we started with.

Natural selection has nothing to do with this; new characteristics appear in nature without natural selection. That comes in afterward, after they have appeared, and says whether they may live or not, and as long as these new kinds stay inside the dead line of natural selection, they survive. This is one reason why we get new things. They have got these new qualities out of the substances from which they are formed. We don't know why they have them; we don't know why one has the qualities

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which it has, or how they have been formed out of the elements of which it is composed. When in heredity we get the combinations, we can predict what the qualities are going to be, but not how they will combine.

Natural selection, then, does not afford us a basis for the development of new forms of life by heredity.

In another way, nature is changing because of her sensitiveness to the surroundings. It is a fundamental characteristic of living substances that they are sensitive to their surroundings, marvelously sensitive.

To give an illustration of the extreme subtlety of that sensitiveness. If you take a guinea pig and plant in its body some germs which have never lived in its body or any of its ancestors, they will gradually die out. The body of a guinea pig is sensitive to the introduction of foreign substances, and will produce a poison against them, even although its ancestors never did.

Now, all this has a very important bearing on the question of war. I will illustrate what I mean by an example of a hybridization between a gray and a white mouse. We get a gray mouse, but it forms its sex cells either gray or white; they have a double charge, gray or white, never both, and so when they meet, they meet according to the same ratio, and in the second generation there is one gray mouse, one white, and two mixed. Human traits also follow this law. There are some people whom we call geniuses; some have, for example special mathematical ability, and some other forms of genius. So that if two persons, one with such ability and one without it, mate, their children will none of them have that ability, because the absence of such ability is dominant over the presence of it, just as the white color disappears when gray is present. In the same way the absence of mathematical ability dominates, when it is mated with mathe-

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matical ability. But when the children of such a mating show no such ability, yet of their offspring in the following generation, one will have no such ability, one will have it, and there will be two who can transmit it, but cannot express it.

Now, what will happen to the European countries when they wage war with machinery, and send their men with mechanical ability into battle to be exterminated, what is the next generation going to do to supply the type of individual in the community that is needed for its mechanical work? They cannot be made to order. Mrs. Harri-man has endowed an institution for the study of genetics, and that institute has been studying the lines of descent of human qualities, and they have demonstrated that most human qualities are hereditary; feeble-mindedness and other human defects, color blindness, six-fingeredness, the tendency to have a white lock of hair, imperfections of stature, a tendency toward certain diseases, musical capacity, mechanical capacity—these are all hereditary.

How is war going to act on these hereditary traits? What is going to be done to the human stock? What types are picked out by war for destruction? Does it pick out the weakling and eliminate that type? It does, to some extent. On account of the hardships in the homes of Europe, many a weakling will be sent to an early grave. But the battlefield picks, not the weak, but the strong, and especially men with a capacity for leadership. The total of deaths of officers is exceedingly heavy. Also the total of men of mechanical ability is very high because war to-day is a war of machines, of submarines and battle ships and rapid cruisers and aeroplanes, machine guns, and automobiles—of every device that man can invent to destroy human life by machinery and explosives. What type of man is necessary to run these machines? Every-

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body knows that not every man can run these complicated devices. When the Germans made up their aerial corps, they went into every factory in Germany and said, "Who is your best and most reliable mechanic? we want him." And so he was enlisted for as long as they could use him. Their aerial corps of thirty-five hundred men was made up of the very best and finest mechanics, taken out of the best factories.

Mechanical capacity runs in families. If you destroy half of these families, the male stock, you will inevitably reduce that element in society to a proportional extent. Doctor Jordan has referred to this in his address.

We have in the United States some five hundred thousand feeble-minded persons, some of them just barely competent to take care of themselves, some of them not able. We have thousands of insane, thousands deaf, dumb, and blind, thousands in our penitentiaries and in hospitals; three or four per cent of the human population is appreciably imperfect physically, and it would be hard for most of us to pass a thoroughly first-class physical examination; we all have some defects. What does war take? Does it take this weakling stock? No; it leaves it all at home; if it did take this stock, they would all appear on the pension rolls later. Every defective man of that sort is excluded, unless it becomes necessary to take even the men of sixty-five and fathers of five children, as is now being done in some of the countries. These men of imperfect qualities are left behind to be the fathers of the future generations of Europe. Suppose you give them just three per cent of an advantage over the other half which is more capable, what is the effect going to be in twenty-nine generations? That the weaker stock will form three-fourths of the population, if this is a true interpretation of the biological facts. The effect of war

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will tend to eliminate from the human stock the stronger, the more courageous, the more inventive type—such men, for example, as Lincoln Beachey. But modern European civilization is built about the type of men who can handle machinery, who are inventive.

In one other very important particular this war is going to leave its record on the human stock. I spoke, a moment ago, of the second great line of biological investigation. The environment changes human stock. It was long held that the use or disuse of human organs made a change in the human stock. Darwin held that the characteristics which the individual acquired were inherited by his children. Not all of them are, because a lot of them merely affect the body, which is the carrier of the sex cells which perpetuate the living substance. For instance, in one of the great agricultural States, they endeavored to improve the breed of fowls, and for that purpose they picked out every hen that laid two hundred eggs a year. After twelve years they found that the descendants of these picked fowls only laid an average of one hundred and nineteen eggs a year, while the average fowl lays one hundred and twenty-five. They had produced no change. But they found that if, instead of taking a miscellaneous selection from a miscellaneous stock, they looked out for certain families of fowls and picked them, then they really began to change the stock. If you select the larger half of any stock, the offspring will show the whole range of variation; but if you go to a family that has particular forms, you will get that common quality reproduced.

But it is possible to change that hereditary make-up, which may be revealed by this selection. It is possible for the environment to change the individual; but not in the way that Darwin thought. He thought the acquired char-

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acteristics of the individual were inherited. Modern science declares that the offspring may be changed by environment, but not always in the same way that the parent is changed. If there comes a heavy frost in early spring where potato bugs are abundant, you will find during the summer a lot of little, pale dwarfs. They are changed in their hereditary make-up by the action of the sudden shock and chill to the parents. Stimulated by this observation, Professor Tower has been raising potato bugs in green houses, where he can hammer them day and night by changes of temperature, and by giving them these shocks just at the time when the sex cells pick out their equipment and are in a sensitive condition. The result is that if they are hit hard, somehow they are changed, and in this way you get a new pattern in the offspring. In this way it is possible to take the potato beetle and shock it and get three different kinds of beetles, illustrated on this chart, a little, yellow dwarf, a pale dwarf, and a fully-equipped type, and they all breed true afterward. We have changed them in a single generation and permanently, and natural selection had nothing to do with it. Natural selection will determine which shall survive, perhaps, but it had nothing to do with the origin of these new types.

He has shown that he can always take these potato beetles, and shock them in this way, and thus, by the environment, change the individual, and also change the race; and the greater the shock the greater the change.

Is the human stock also susceptible to the environment? If we take the honey bee, after a day of hard work, and examine the cells of its brain, we find them collapsed, shrunk, and exhausted. A guinea pig subjected to surgical shock under an anesthetic, exhibits shrunk and exhausted cells. The human brain, after shock, presum-

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ably shows the same thing. The impact of the shock goes to the central nervous system, and then back to all parts of the body, including the sexual organs, which are exceedingly susceptible to changed conditions.

For instance, take a wild animal, and domesticate it, and nine times out of ten it will not breed, or its breeding will be disturbed. The mallard duck will lay many more eggs in captivity than when wild.

An illustration of the effect of such changes is shown clearly in the effects of alcohol on guinea pigs. Experimenters have taken stock of healthy ancestry, subjected one part to the fumes of alcohol for forty minutes a day. The pigs become slightly intoxicated in that time, but they remain hale and hearty and die of old age, just as the man who uses alcohol for sixty years sometimes does. But of their offspring, eighty per cent are still born at birth, or epileptic or runts, and the two latter transmit these qualities to their offspring. Now, I am not lecturing on temperance, but on the effect of the war. The alcohol affected the sense organs of the guinea pigs and was transmitted to the sex cells; they were modified by the stimulus, and they threw a new pattern and changed the hereditary character of the guinea pig. And it doesn't make any difference which parent is drunk. It is significant that in Switzerland there are two seasons of the year when a larger part of the feeble-minded children are born, and those periods are nine months after two festivals at which there is much drinking.

What has all this to do with this war? War is one of the greatest, the most terrible stimulants to the human race that has ever happened. The shock of war is being pounded upon millions of men, both in the field and at home, and the fathers and mothers of the generation to come are being stimulated by the shock of war in a ter-

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rible way, and the results of these shocks to the central nervous system will be transmitted to the next generation, and will write their record. It is a law of nature, and no diplomacy or charity will enable us to avoid it.

If all this is true, if war does thus deteriorate the race, why hasn't it destroyed the race before? There is some reason to think that Rome fell, not because of the hook worm or malaria, or what not, but because they sacrificed their fine young men in the colonies. And Spain suffered for the same reason, and Great Britain also because they depleted their stock in war and conquest. Nor will this stop with the war itself; for, as Doctor Jordan said, this war must be paid for, the interest at least, unless the debt is repudiated. It is going to be wrung from labor; it will mean longer hours of labor for women and children, and for the fathers and mothers, so that the effect will be spread over many generations—war will write its record in the stock of the human race for generations to come.

Is there any actual evidence that war does thus affect the children? There is a little. In France, after the Napoleonic period, twenty years after the heaviest military campaigns, there was a sudden drop in the height of Frenchmen entering the army. Napoleon started with five feet and four inches, and it dropped to five feet, one inch. Since then, France has gained one inch of its lost height, but it has taken twenty years to do it.

There came a sudden change in the quality of military recruits; they were fewer in number and inferior in type; the percentage of physical defects showed a marked increase, quite in excess of the persistence in the decline of height. That is, the facts indicate that children born in the time of the Napoleonic wars were physically imperfect to a greater degree than usual.

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In Prussia, during the war of 1870-75, the death rate of the children under five years of age showed an increase of sixteen per cent over that of the time before and after the war. Why, if this means anything, it was because parents, in the period of the war, were under severe mental and physical strain, and the shock of that environment of military activity, resulted in the deterioration of the race.

There is just one little, bright spot in the whole business, and that is this third beetle here. That beetle isn't a bad one; the others are smaller and weaker and not such virile types; but it is possible that the shock of war might produce some virile types as well; it increases the variation and may give us some compensation. That is a possibility that we must recognize, but it is a desperately hard way to get it when there may be better ones.

There is one other fact that comes to us from biology that has a bearing upon war, and that is that war is in direct opposition to one very fundamental principle in the structure and evolution of animals. We find, just in proportion as the nervous system becomes more complex, that there comes to be more and more social life. The honey bee or ant has, in proportion to its weight, a very large nervous system, and they have a highly developed social life. Now, among all living things, man has the most highly-developed, nervous system, and the most highly-perfected type; it is like a switch-board in a complicated telephone system, so that every part is in communication with every other part, so that it is possible for man to establish a wide range of relations and to build up a system of social inter-relations because of the physical structure of his brain. But man has no saber teeth; he has no claws to scratch with. Nature has given him none of the organs of battle built into his body.

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He has a brain for social life, but he is now turning that brain into an engine of destruction. In other words, he has reverted to the time of the tiger; he has gone back. The principle of mutual aid lies at the foundation of the evolution of the family; it is the fundamental basis of human society, and war is a direct contradiction of the whole principle of human aid, and thus is against nature, if we read nature aright.

What, then, should be our attitude toward war? I should teach biology, and keep on teaching it, in our public schools; these lessons should be taught to every one of our children; this knowledge should be in the possession of every one. If every boy will follow through the lessons taught by the sweet corn and the primroses in the garden, he would be more careful of his own stock; and people would be more careful about war if they knew the lessons modern biology is teaching.

I will not take the time to tell you what we might do to stop war, for Doctor Jordan has already told you. There is, however, one aspect of this matter which I have not touched upon, and that is a question of psychology. We are all fighters, by instinct; it is one of our most valuable qualities. We have this instinct to defend ourselves and rise to a contest; let us turn this force into other directions, into art and literature and sport—even prize fighting rather than war. Let us maintain this spirit, but at the same time direct it in the right way, and regard war as Richard Le Gallienne has wonderfully expressed it in his poem:

“WAR.

“I abhor,
And yet how sweet
The sound along the marching street,

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Of drum and fife, and I forget
Broken, old mothers, and the whole
Dark butchery without a soul.

"Without a soul—save this bright drink
Of heady music, sweet as hell;
And even my peace-abiding feet
Go marching with the marching feet.
For yonder, yonder, goes the fife,
And what care I for human life!
The tears fill my astonished eyes
And my full heart is like to break;
And yet 'tis all embannered lies—
A dream those drummers make.

"Oh, it is wickedness to clothe
Yon hideous grinning thing that stalks
Hidden in music, like a queen
That in a garden of glory walks,
Till good men love the thing they loathe!

"Art, thou hast many infamies,
But not an infamy like this,
Oh, snap the fife and still the drum
And show the monster as she is."

CHAPTER XI.

"KULTUR" AS AGAINST CIVILIZATION.

BY EDWARD BENJAMINE KREHBIEL.

I notice that the chairman very wisely refused to give me a subject; there was some misunderstanding as to what it should be, and so I have assigned myself the subject of "Kultur (or Culture) as Against Civilization."

I cannot very well refrain from reminding you that one of the reasons, it is said, why the Germans spell "kultur" with a "k" is because England has control of all the "C's"; but the other word that I am also to speak of "civilization," though it begins with "c," is the monopoly of no one.

What do we mean by this term "kultur" that so many nations are fighting about? Ordinarily, when we conceive of our position in life—we, as Americans, others as Germans, others as French, or English—we conceive of our state as being independent, self-sufficient, superior to all others. The people of every nation believe that they have peculiar virtues in their state, virtues which because they are superior, ought to be spread abroad, which are worth fighting for, worth imposing upon other people, worth compelling them to accept if they will not do so voluntarily. They call that kultur. Now, as a matter of fact, this conception that we have, that we are sufficient to ourselves, that we live a really national existence, that our existence is peculiar, or at least superior, needs to be considered.

Is this true economically? The capital of the world is not confined to the bounds of a state; it pays no heed to

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them. As a matter of fact, one of the first habits of money is to seek profits, interest, dividends ; it doesn't ask whether it is being invested in the homeland or abroad, but what per cent it is going to make. And if it finds that an investment is more profitable in a foreign country, to the foreign country it goes, no matter whether the German or American eagle is stamped upon it. It will seek dividends in Beluchistan, if the investment pays. Capital ignores national boundary lines.

Interest follows the investment, likewise, and labor is compelled to follow also, because if a man here invests his capital abroad, he is very likely to compel labor to follow it. Take, for example, the Japanese alien land law ; when the legislature in California has succeeded in excluding this cheap labor, American capital will go to Japan. The same kind of thing has occurred repeatedly in history, but I haven't time to dwell upon it.

Let me go on. Exactly as investment goes abroad, labor goes to seek it, and ignores international boundary lines. One of the most expert speakers I ever heard, one of the finest minds I ever met, was a laboring man. I was speaking before a Socialist meeting, and in the course of the meeting, a man arose. I found out afterwards that he was a structural steel worker ; that he had traveled all over the world in the pursuit of his trade, getting his day's pay. He had seen far more of the world than I had seen, or probably ever shall see. Such a case is merely typical ; as I said, labor ignores national boundary lines.

What is the food we eat ? Tea from China, coffee from Mexico or South America, all sorts of things from outside the country. The silk and woollen that we wear is manufactured abroad. There is no end to the things that we eat and drink and wear that come from without the

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boundaries of the country. And therefore, actually, when we sit down to table, we do, though ignorantly to be sure, eat an international meal, and we wear international clothing. I have sometimes been disposed to say that I have shoes of French calf, and a suit of English woolen, a cravat of Chinese silk, and a hair cut made in Germany; in my appearance I am international.

The economic life in America, therefore, is not national, Neither is the intellectual life, because the thoughts you think are not American. The news that you read is world wide. The philosophy that you study, the science that you cultivate, the arts you admire, are international; they are not American. What would become of medicine if we first of all had to discover if the germ of disease belonged to our nationality? We pay no more heed to that than the germs do. Cholera never asks about the American boundary line and whether it may come over. The result is that the men interested in medicine are compelled to forget that there are national boundary lines, and become international in their activities.

And science; what would you say if the physicist were to inquire whether the law of gravitation sailed under the British flag? It would be absurd, of course; yet there seems to be a conception that we have certain national qualities, superior to every one else, and that we call kultur.

Economic life is not national; intellectual life is not national. What is national? Why, political life. But the state is a juridical entity; it is an abstraction, a legal hypothesis, and this is the thing which constitutes what is left of national existence. If I ask you if you are a patriot, in what does your patriotism consist? Why, in loyalty to this political, juridical entity, which does not really correspond to anything in your economic or intel-

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lectual life. You are patriotic to one portion of your being, but unpatriotic in some of the best features of your life.

You may say this is not fair. Well, I will admit that. You are not really loyal just to the conception of the state as an abstract legal something, but to those principles which are supposed to reside behind your state, and which are called the "culture state." It is your form of government, your form of business, your embodiment of your conceptions of right and wrong, your conceptions of social propriety, your ethical conceptions; these are our kultur. To these we give our adhesion; it is these which inspire our patriotism.

Now, there is no denying the existence of such a cultural state; but how does it work? That is the important thing. How does it deliver its message to man and influence life? Here are the Germans, the English, the Russians, all of them in the war, and all the neutrals who are out of the war, who believe in their peculiar kultur, which they think ought to prevail. How are they going to make it prevail? The question is, how does this kultur affect life; wholesomely? There are two possible modes of regarding the matter. You may put this kultur under hot-house conditions; you may exclude all foreign elements which might cause it to deteriorate; you may keep it clear, pure, stimulated by rivalry with some other kultur unit. The Germans will tell the people that they must stand together, or they will be suppressed by the Russians; and the English will be told that if they don't stand together against the attacks from without, their kultur will disappear, and will be overcome by the German. So, for the sake of procuring the proper heat in the hot-house, you use some other kultur unit as a scare, which is going to extirpate your kultur unless you are

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strong enough to keep it out. You are loyal, you say, to those high principles, which are superior to all other kulturs on earth.

There is still another view. That view is this; that even after a state has succeeded in defeating another, it hasn't suppressed its kultur. Did the Germans, though they absolutely overthrew the Roman empire as a geographical unit, destroy their culture, or the Greek culture? Did the English, when they invaded the British Islands, absolutely obliterate the preceding elements? Not at all. If these elements were worth while at the beginning, if they were fit, they were going to live, whether under one flag or the other. They were fit to survive; they could not be suppressed by force of arms. You cannot suppress mental ability or a conscience by force of arms.

So, then, inasmuch as this doesn't seem to work, why wouldn't this kultur propagate itself quite as well, if there were not these conditions of rivalry between Germany and England, Russia and Austria? Why wouldn't the kultur work itself into human life and take its place regardless of national boundary lines?

New England has been a portion of the United States ever since it was founded; yet when you go to New England you still find characteristics of the New Englander; they have not been lost. The Californian is different from the New Englander; he contributes his qualities, his temper to the structure of the nation, and his kultur is not endangered by the fact that he does not appeal to arms to defend them.

To be sure it has been contended that this rivalry is fundamental; that the day you remove that element, the day that the foreign country ceases to compete against you, that day you grow lax, easy going, you degenerate,

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and presently as a people you pass away. The motive power of civilization, of progress, is inherent in strife between two or many units. Then, there is the other view, which contends that a country like the United States can keep strong and powerful by the sheer fact that it has within itself the motives of progress; in other words, that it carries the power within itself, because each of us is competing with every other in the state, and for that reason we are quick to seize and grasp good ideas, and are all of us stimulated to our highest activity, and to growth, and our nation moves forward, and would if there were no English or German or Japanese.

It is very hard to say which of these two views is right; whether we need the rivalry of states, or whether there is sufficient motive power within the state. Personally, I believe the latter is true. I believe the vitality of the American people is sufficient to keep us as much alive as we need to be, without the need of foreign competition. If that competition were world-wide between individuals, I think that competition would be adequate to give us all the motive power for progress we could ever use, without this national competition.

There is still another feature that needs to be dwelt upon with a great deal of care. The cultural elements, which are confined to the state and represent the state, are not really a true picture of the life we have to-day. I have tried to show that you, in your own being, have a conflict between interests; there is this adhesion to your kultur, your national civilization; and then there is the fact that you think and live as a world being. In your political life you are national; in your economic and intellectual life, you are international. You can't help it. There is a struggle, a conflict. I call this the struggle between kultur and civilization, because I conceive that

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the elements, which I call the chief things of civilization, are those elements of international relationship and international co-operation. That state which is wholly exclusive is not called a civilized state. When do you say Japan became civilized? Why, the day that she stopped her policy of seclusion; the day that she began to interact with other nations. That day she became what you call a civilized nation, depending for her progress in great measure upon the wholesome inter-relations with other peoples.

Turkey is not a civilized state; China remained a backward state until the day that she adopted international relations, and now she is waking up, but is still to become really civilized.

These two factors, then, kultur, representing one's home life, as I may call it; civilization, representing international life. I want to bring them both before you for the sake of comparison. If a state has kultur, it is confronted with the question of how it is to use it. Shall it go out and impose it upon another state by force? If it does, in that process it loses a great many things that are a part of civilization. That is to say, its inter-relations with other countries are cut by its attempt to impose its kultur.

There is a war in Europe now, for the sake of kultur. This war has resulted in many acts which we should call vicious in civil life, and these things leave their effects upon men's minds, if not upon their health. It has been acknowledged that the Russian incursion into East Prussia has left a blood taint of disease upon the race which it will take four or five generations to stamp out. Civilization is being set back for the advancement of what is called kultur, and for generations people will have to suffer because some one tried to advance a national cul-

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ture element. Can the cultural element be advanced in such a way that everybody gains? Can that element at home be made to react upon the world in a wholesome fashion? Could we not have the same effect by allowing it to spread naturally so that people could take it naturally? Again I say, we are upon a speculative basis. It has not been more than one hundred or one hundred and fifty years since the world became economically and intellectually a unit. That has been the result of improved transportation and communication. It was Doctor Bushnell who said that the road is the very mark of civilization; nothing can make an inroad without making a road. It represents the transfer of activities and thoughts from one nation to another, and the status of this transportation is an evidence of what we call civilization.

What do we call kultur? As measured in terms of architecture, high art, music, etc., is it any less because it happens to be outside your country? On the contrary. There is a kultur which you may, perhaps, call German, but you would have great difficulty in defining it. There is a kultur which you may call American, and you will have enormous difficulty in distinguishing it from English or German kultur. But suppose you could do so, over and above all these divisions there is yet another group, something that you have not classified, but which fits into all the groups, which is the international kultur, or civilization. This is the new thing, the coming thing, the thing which has arrived, and you to-day see in the great strife between the cultural factors and the factors of civilization. Now the question for thinking men is this, Which will we choose, and why?

It is not enough to choose, you must have a reason for your choice. We have had enough of hasty choosing in this war; people are too ready to spring to conclusions.

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As a plain fact, the reasons for this war run far back into history and back into ignorance. The reason is largely that Europeans are still under the conception that the national life is something apart and free from the rest of the world, and are not conscious of the truth that civilization is gradually tending to absorb these cultural elements of the different states and make them the common property of all men, and that process can be promoted much more surely by other methods than by strife.

Which will you choose? As for me, I want to recognize the fact that not only here are culture and civilization, mutually exclusive elements striving against each other, but I wish to announce my allegiance to civilization.

CHAPTER XII.

THE FALLACIES OF WAR

BY WILLIAM TRUFANT FOSTER.

When I was traveling in Europe a few years ago, I fell in with a number of young men, who thought that I was an Englishman and treated me accordingly. I found that they had no respect whatever for me, did not wish to associate with me, and, so far as possible, tried not to ride in the same car with me. By some chance they found out that I was a citizen of the United States, and at once their attitude changed. They tried to apologize, and said that of course I understood that throughout their school days they had been taught to treat an Englishman as a natural enemy, and that it was not proper for them to show anything but scorn for an Englishman.

When I first heard of the outbreak of the present war, that incident in my travels in Europe was the first thing that came to my mind, and I realized that the war was, in a measure, what the entire school systems of Europe had been planning for. As I look back over my own school experiences in the United States, I realize that history, as it was taught to me, was largely a history of the glorification of war. When I was a small boy, the only heroes were heroes of the battlefield, and the history that I learned was largely the history of armies and navies and battles and wars and treaties. I cannot remember, as I look back on my history lessons, that there had been singled out at all, for glorification, such men as have gone into fever-infested districts and sacrificed lives in order to save life; but those who have been held up as

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models for the boys of America for generations have been those who have been chiefly successful in destroying life.

It seems to me, therefore, that the best way of attack, with the most permanent guarantee of success, and which is the only agency whereby we may reach the next generation, is education; and through that agency we must, year in and year out, show the great falsity of war.

I am going to speak to you now for only eight or ten minutes, and in that time I am going to mention five of the great fallacies of war. They are all familiar to you, and I need not dwell upon them. I mention them only to say this: that at this time, when Europe is in conflict, it is particularly important that we should not be led astray by those whose business is war, by those whose income depends upon the perpetuation of war and upon the manufacture of the armaments of war. Particularly now we should not be misled by the fallacies of war and by the arguments for the continuance of war and its accessories; and we should particularly aim to bring to the next generation a realization of the absurdity of these arguments.

The first fallacy that I will mention is that there is any glory in war. Sherman has described it, and the glory of war is mere moonshine. Any one who knows what the reality of war is, knows that there is no glory in it whatever.

Another fallacy is that war is in any way necessary to develop the manly virtues. There is evidence, abundance of evidence, that the finest qualities of manhood are being developed about us everywhere in the quiet ways of peace, in the service of mankind, not in the destruction of it. The argument that war is necessary for the development of the manly virtues, is absurd, because if war tends to

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do anything, it tends to select those who have the greatest courage and skill, and kill them, leaving the weaker to perpetuate the species. At a matter of fact, war in itself develops many of the basest qualities of human nature and brings them to the front, rather than the qualities which we wish to perpetuate in men and women for the upbuilding of the race. The exhibitions of moral courage in every-day life are far finer and far more needed than the physical courage which is comparatively common.

Another of the fallacies constantly thrust upon us in the matter of war, is the idea that wars are made by the pressure of public events; that wars are not made by individuals or groups, and that consequently we, as human beings, have no control over them; that they will come in spite of us. That is absurd. Wars are not made by the pressure of public events, nor by the pressure of public opinion, except in very rare instances; but they are made, as is evidenced by the present war, by a very few individuals, who take things into their own hands and go ahead where the public cannot follow them, because the public, at the time when war is declared, is not acquainted with the facts.

War, then, is always made by a few individuals, under the systems which have prevailed so long. The fact is, that if the great mass of the men and women in Germany and Russia and Austria and Japan were left to decide these things, there would be no more war. It was only a little while ago that I received a letter from a man in the trenches in the present war, in which he described his experience and told about the good times that they had during certain intermissions, when the Frenchmen and Germans and English would sometimes come out of the trenches and play football together and enjoy each other's company; and he spoke of the horror of it all, because,

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he said, not one of these individuals wanted to kill anybody else. But finally their commanding officers forbade them to have any more social intercourse, because this acquaintance was detrimental to the pursuits of war. The officers realized that the more we know about each other, the less likely we are to kill each other.

My small boy, seven years old, one morning at the breakfast table, ventured this brilliant remark. He said, "Father, why don't those people get acquainted and stop fighting?"

When people get acquainted, they will stop fighting. When they awaken to the facts, and understand how they are being played with, how they are being killed as the sport of a few individuals, as we already understand about it in the United States, there will be such a tremendous pressure of public opinion against war that it will be impossible for a few individuals to take into their own hands the question of whether there shall be war. You and I shall decide whether there shall be any warfare. That will be a method of decision that will take time, will it not? That is one of the virtues of the method, that it will take time, because we need time to consider, and the more time we take to consider, the less likely we are to fight. And when that good time comes in this country, and in all countries, the voice of all the women will be heard, for the women, after all, are those who suffer most severely in every war.

Another one of the fallacies that we shall point out, is the argument that a navy is necessary for the promotion of the commercial interests of any country; that trade follows the flag, and that we must have a big navy if we are to make money. If you will read Doctor Jordan's book, "War and Waste," or some of the other books on this subject, you will find a vast body of statistics, the

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net result of which is, that those nations which have spent the greatest amount on war are the ones which carry the smallest amount, per capita, of the world's commerce. When we had no navy at all, twenty years ago, we carried eighty per cent of our commerce in our own bottoms, and now we carry only eleven or twelve per cent.

Trade does not follow the flag nor the navy; it follows the laws of trade and nothing else; and it is a vain expectation that we can attain material prosperity through spending our money on warships. What we need is, not more warships, but more ships of peace to carry the commerce of the world.

Sometime, if you like, you may take pleasure in figuring out about how much England pays for her commerce, assuming that her navy is maintained in the interest of her trade. You will find that it is about fifty per cent of all she gets; that the entire trade of her colonies is not sufficient to justify her navy. As a matter of fact, strictly speaking and getting down to the very bottom of the whole question, we find that what war means, commercially, is no advantage at all; the only thing that war can possibly mean from a commercial standpoint is that a nation goes forth to destroy its own markets. That is all it means. England is at present destroying her markets in Germany, and Germany is destroying her markets in England and France; Russia is destroying her markets in Turkey. So far as it can possibly do it, by every expenditure of energy and sacrifice, each nation is making it almost impossible for the other nations to trade with it for many years to come. War is the destruction of our own markets, and of our system of credit upon which the trade of the world depends.

I cannot dwell on that any longer, but will pass quickly to another of the fallacies of war, and one about which

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we must educate the next generation, and that is, that war is ever necessary to settle controversies. It gives rise to new controversies; but so far as concerns the controversies which are supposed to cause any particular war are concerned, they must be settled by arbitration after the war is over; so that the only question is whether you shall arbitrate your differences before or after you fight. You are going to arbitrate them anyway.

That is the situation in Europe to-day. As a matter of fact, war cannot settle differences; it never in itself achieves any permanent settlement. Many people believe that we should not rush into Mexico with our army in order to settle international problems in that country, and in fact it would have been ridiculous; we could never have settled them in that way. Only last summer the nations of Europe were laughing at our policy of "watchful waiting." Is Europe laughing now? If the nations of Europe last summer had pursued the "watchful waiting" policy, there would be no war in Europe now. (Applause.)

As a matter of fact, we could have done nothing but stir up further strife in Mexico, and continued warfare. As some German general has said, you can do a great many things with bayonets, but you cannot sit on them.

The last of the fallacies that I shall speak of to you, is the idea that we can safeguard peace by preparing for war; and that, mind you, is one of the strongest and most pernicious arguments used by those who are in favor of larger armies and navies, because it gets hold of the very people who are sincerely desirous of perpetuating peace among men. The idea that you are somehow going to get peace by preparations for war, is absurd on the face of it. The way to get anything is, not to prepare for exactly the opposite, for, in the long run, we get about

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what we prepare for; and so preparation for war is the surest means of getting war. Where there are no forts and battleships, no guns and no soldiers, there is no war. No king or emperor or president or congress can possibly bring a sudden war upon the people unless the ammunition is all piled up ready for war. We get what we are prepared for.

I had a letter recently from the Navy League of America asking me to aid them in their campaign for a larger navy, and among the thirty-five or forty fallacious arguments they presented was one saying that the reason why the Spanish war was so successful was because we were prepared for it. As a matter of fact, the reason why we had the Spanish war was because we were prepared for war and Spain was not. The reason that the jingo members of Congress were able to stir up sufficient trouble to drag us into war, was because they knew the navy was ready; and yet, at that very time, Spain, through our own minister, had agreed to arbitrate all the differences between us, including the sinking of the Maine. But we were prepared for that war, and so we got it. The smaller our navy, the smaller our likelihood of being drawn into war.

Mr. Roosevelt says that a proper armament is the surest guarantee of peace. The first question is, What is a "proper armament"? It is only fifteen or twenty years ago that a proper armament, so far as the navy is concerned, cost the United States Government from ten to twenty million dollars a year. A year or two ago it had risen to a hundred and twenty million, and now it is a hundred and forty-four million; and yet the Navy League is demanding that we spend next year a hundred and sixty million for a "proper armament" to safeguard

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peace. There is no end to their demands for a "proper armament."

That whole argument is fallacious on the face of it, because there is only one way in which any nation can guarantee peace through armament, and that is by getting an armament so much larger than any possible combination that it cannot be attacked. But how can more than one nation on the face of the globe have that kind of a guarantee? Consequently there is a mad rush, in which the devastating expenditures of one nation are merely an incentive for every other nation to do the same. And so it goes around the world, and there can be no end until we insist upon the fallacy of the assumption that any army is a guarantee of peace.

We have spoken of the long line between Canada and America. That boundary line is a tremendous argument. The most heavily fortified line you can find anywhere is that between France and Germany, or Germany and Russia, and right there, where you have the most tremendous armaments, is right where you have the greatest war, while for a hundred years the four thousand miles of boundary between Canada and the United States has been, by agreement, without a soldier, without a gun, and without a war. That boundary line is four thousand miles of argument against armaments.

In closing, I want to say that it seems to me that the United States has now a supremely important and strategic position in regard to the welfare of the world. And the United States may, through all of its people, so act and continue to act in the present crisis, that the time will come when the great peace prize which hitherto has been given only to individuals or societies, might properly be given to the United States of America ; because the United States can act throughout this controversy in such a way

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as to make known in strong and far-reaching language that all may understand, that the people of this country stand for the beating of swords into ploughshares to the end that mankind shall no longer be crucified upon the cross of war, and that the time has come when we shall abandon the fallacious idea that in time of peace we should prepare for war, and in its place—mark you this—in its place let us insist, individually and in our every-day capacity, whether in groups like this, or as individuals, that the time has come for this nation to declare, as a nation, through all its people, with determination and fortitude and sacrifice, and a dauntless energy equal to that which men have put forth in warfare, and in the same spirit of sacrifice and determination, that now, at last, the time has come when we, as a nation, shall stand for the doctrine that, in time of war we must prepare for peace.

CHAPTER XIII.

MORE WAR FALLACIES

BY DAVID STARR JORDAN.

Doctor Foster has crowded much truth and good sense into his address, and in the time that I have to speak I want to touch again on some of the points of which he has spoken.

The maxim that in time of peace we should prepare for war, does not go back to Washington. Washington quoted that saying; but he also said that an overgrown army is one of the greatest dangers to liberty, and especially republican liberty. What he would have called an overgrown army was one costing a hundred thousand dollars a year, not two hundred and ninety million as at present. The maxim, "In time of peace prepare for war," goes back to Machiavelli, and he was the apostle of a mean opportunism; that is, he believed in taking advantage of other nations when you had a chance.

But it didn't start with him. *Æsop* tells a story that some one saw a wild boar sharpening his tusks, and when asked why, he replied, "In time of peace I prepare for war"; and so Edward Everett Hale declares that this maxim goes back to an old hog.

The question of what is a proper navy and army is one that keeps coming up and is never answered. It is always ten per cent greater than last year. Some years ago our navy sailed around the world to make an impression. The impression wasn't altogether a good one, although the officers and men were on their good behavior. But that was a small navy compared with what we have

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now, or compared with what the other nations had. The others are all going to ruin now; so ours is, or soon will be, stronger than any other. At any rate, no one can show that any other is stronger, because if any of them ventured out they would be destroyed.

We like to have a good-sized navy because it is good for display and it gives us a comfortable feeling of being well dressed as a nation, and a young nation likes that sort of thing. William Penn, when he was young, wore a sword, and somebody remonstrated with Fox; but he said, "Let him wear it as long as he enjoys it; he will outgrow it by and by." So the nation will outgrow its navy after a while. Some of the most sincere men in the country are among the naval officers, but they are not the ones that talk. What we don't want is to be advised by retired officers who have nothing to think of but how to get a bigger navy; and we don't want to be advised by the Navy League, when the president of that league is the president of the nickel trust and a son-in-law of Mr. Morgan, is one of the officers, because all these big manufacturing interests belong to the New York system. We don't know just how far this is true, but we don't like to be advised by these agencies, nor by any other men connected with that system. At least two of them have been secretaries of the navy in times past, and they were supposed to know how much they ought to buy because they were agents and buying for themselves.

We are not sure of any of these propositions except as we see the names on the letter heading of the Navy League; but we know that Krupp, in Germany, has backed many German navy leagues, and it may be that they were partly responsible for the war. That is their business. They were making a profit during times of peace, and those profits have now risen to ten or fifteen million dol-

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lars a day, and you can send out with that amount a great many agents to form leagues; you can hire many admirals and generals in your service. In England the late Secretary of the Navy did quit the service of the Government and go into the service of the armament companies themselves. It is a delicate question when the men who were previously buying from these establishments become their agents.

So there are some we don't want advice from; and, for one, I don't want to take advice from any navy league whatever until I know that it represents, as the Navy League does not, the opinion of the best men in the navy.

I went over to Germany thirty-four years ago on a North-German Lloyd steamer. The company was young then, and the officers on that steamer treated the passengers as though they were Alsatian peasants or recruits, and I resolved that I would never go on the North-German Lloyd again. I have occasion to change my mind since and have traveled something like thirty thousand miles on these steamers; but now they have learned that it pays to give attention to every little matter. They do not drop the passengers' baggage into the Bay of Naples any more and refuse to pick it up. They don't order the passengers around as though they were recruits, but make them feel as though they were guests of the company. They treat the passengers and shippers with courtesy, and the North-German Lloyd has risen to be the second largest shipping company in the world; the largest is the Hamburg-American. That does not count combines such as Morgans.

I inquired what profits the North-German Lloyd was making. It has extended its trade to the United States, and the rest was mainly with Great Britain and the British possessions. Some people have said that the

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British have brought the war on because they were jealous of this company; but that isn't true, because nobody ever heard of an Englishman that envied anybody or anything whatever, and another reason is that England never put a single protective tariff or tax against the German steamers. If they had been jealous they would have done that.

Now the North-German Lloyd was making a certain amount of clear profit, and the Hamburg-American also, as well as the smaller German companies; and adding these all together, I found that the profit from the whole German commerce overseas amounted to \$45,000,000 clear profit per year; and the navy that was intended to protect this commerce was costing Germany \$139,000,000 a year. That was what it cost to protect this \$45,000,000. In other words, the rate of insurance was three hundred per cent; and it didn't insure. When those men that formed the little military clique around Berlin brought on the war, this insurance was gone. The North-German Lloyd and the others thought they could prevent war, but the ultimatum was issued, and they couldn't meet the problem face to face. You know what an ultimatum is. It is a request to decide over night whether you will be swallowed whole at once or masticated the next day. The small nation gets gobbled, in either case, as Servia and Belgium have found out.

But we are not to be anti-German, because this spirit does not really represent the Germans.

We have been told that our navy is charged with the duty of protecting our coasts; but no nation could attack us without going to New York to borrow the money, and they couldn't get it. When New York stopped lending money to the Japanese, the Japanese war stopped. Banker Schiff wouldn't lend any more money, and they couldn't

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get any in Europe. Their principal general said he could hold his army together for about four weeks, and after that they would have to disband right there in Manchuria. So that is why there was peace. Russia could have beaten Japan by simply keeping out of reach until the Japanese were worn out. When the war was over, Japan's debt was so heavy that she has not been able to borrow a dollar since.

Russia owed seven thousand million; how much Russia owes France on account of this present war, we cannot tell until this war is over.

President Foster has said some things so important that I want to make you think of them a second time. I don't believe that the settlement of this war is going to be instantaneous. We may see it stopped, but war settles nothing; it is what is done afterward that determines what comes of the war. Now, we are a sort of overflow meeting of Europe, but we have a better hall, and our fathers and mothers had some ideas that were in advance of most of those in Europe at that time. One of the best is the idea of equality before the law. Another is the idea of holding of a human body as sacred; that only in the direst extremity can a nation take a human being and make a rampart of him. In many of the battles of Europe, the dead bodies have actually been piled up to form ramparts, but you can't do that here.

It is all a matter of education, and even in this country we haven't enough. Some time ago, I was talking to a German audience in what I regarded as the German language, and the Germans seemed to understand. I told them that their war system had poisoned all their teaching of history and morals and religion and patriotism; and they stood for that; but the next week their Navy League came with moving pictures of the German ships; that

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was their antidote to my remarks. But I had a greater attendance than I have here. There is a fine body of people in Germany, who believe as we do in education, and who realize that the people of other nations are human like ourselves; and the time must come when the body of a man or woman or baby shall be as sacred as any flag. There are people in Germany who believe that. I had a paper from Germany the other day, marked "Cordially," and a postcard, on which was written, "Spring is coming." Sometime we shall hear again from all these people. They can't write much now, for the censor is very rigid; he is suspicious of everything that is written that says anything. But there is a body of people in Germany who would like to have this thing brought to an end. And then the letters that come, edged with black! One of my friends sent me, the other day, a letter that his son had written from Poland, just before he died for his country, and that letter was touching in the extreme; and when we criticize and disapprove of the attack of Servia or Belgium, we must remember that the people over there are just as helpless in this matter as we are. Our place is to bind up the wounds and make friends, as we have done in Belgium.

One of the men that we can be proudest of, that has helped to save five million Belgians, is a California man and a graduate of Stanford and the first man to enter our halls, Herbert Clark Hoover.

I once heard the president of one of our Eastern universities, addressing a body of teachers, tell them what to be proud of, and there is nothing for us to be prouder of than our Canadian border. But this professor said that we should be proud of our four foreign wars because we were victorious in every one. That was rather paralyzing. The war with England wasn't a foreign war,

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although the next one was. If we were victorious, that fact has escaped all the histories. I supposed that the war with Mexico had long been a source of shame, and in the war with Spain I thought that Cervera got most of the laurels. We could have had anything from Spain that we were entitled to, without shedding a drop of American blood; so we lost that war. University presidents like Mr. Foster and myself and this man from the East, ought to know about these things and teach what is true. The Civil War was unavoidable on account of the temper of the times; but if we had paid ten thousand dollars apiece for every slave and given each one a farm, it would have been cheaper than killing the people of the South. But there were no railroads in those days, no connection between North and South and there is now. The important thing is to get acquainted. Charles Lamb once said, of a certain man, "I hate that fellow." He was asked, "Do you know him?" And he answered, "Oh, no, I don't know him; I never could hate anybody that I knew." There is nothing so costly as hate; hating people that you don't know by sight.

I was once talking with a German who had been a conscript, and he told me that he once went into France and saw some French conscripts going to maneuvers, and when the car stopped, one of the young men reached out and kissed his mother. That surprised the German because he had been told that every Frenchman was a fiend who was trying to destroy German homes and who hated everything that makes family life beautiful; and he found that this French boy was just like any other boy.

In Nuremburg, we had a hall four times as big as this, filled with people. Constant, who is the most eloquent man in France, now that Jaures is dead, made a magnificent appeal to clasp hands across the Vosges; and one of

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the fine young men of Germany spoke in the same vein, and we all applauded. But it has been said that the Bavarians have no influence in Berlin. I remember that Prince Collier said that if the Kaiser wanted war, he had only to press the button, and the people of Germany would have nothing to do with it. I don't believe that the Kaiser wanted war; he thought that Russia wouldn't fight, and that he could press the button and get Russia out of the Balkans without fighting.

Germany has had a practical monopoly of the making of dyes. There every man is a cog in the industrial machine, and while he is practically guaranteed a place, he is also paid very small wages and prevented from rising very much; for it is one of the laws of social science that if you hold people up so they won't fall, you also prevent them from rising. So over there they can afford to work for less than anywhere else, and the whole dye business was transferred to Germany; so we must start this business up for ourselves until after the war, when it will probably go back, because trade always flows in the lines of least resistance.

War is like a great lava stream. It destroys everything that it touches, spreading out into small streams running everywhere. In Europe there was built up, on about nine thousand million dollars worth of gold and silver, a great credit, and there were about two hundred thousand million dollars of engraved bonds and stocks for sale in Europe, beside twenty-seven thousand millions of national debt. There were city bonds, and corporation bonds, and bonds of all kinds, held by all kinds of people. There are thousands of people living on the interest of that money. Now, while the war is on, there is a kind of exaltation; they don't count the cost and they don't know where they are. There are millions of men

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that ought to be at work, and all that work is stopped. By and by, these men will come back to find that there are no jobs. There has already been spent in this war more than the entire value of all the property in the empire of Russia. Who is going to pay for all this? Industry pays for it. Now there is no capital to borrow or loan, and nobody dares to go into any new business. There are four great establishments in this country that have absolutely refused to touch any of this trade in armaments. One is the Dayton Cash Register Company, and there are three others, and they have all refused because it is wrong. We can't prevent these sales now; the time to do that is when the war is over, and it is going to be very hard to prohibit these private sales then. The Emperor of Germany has twelve million dollars worth of stock invested in the Krupp works, and the kings and the aristocracy all have stock in the great corporations. Even here it hasn't always been certain whether the government or the system was the stronger.

It has been said that there are three kinds of poor men in the world: the Lord's poor, the devil's poor, and paupers. The Lord's poor are those who are in trouble, like the Belgians. We are helping take care of them, and selling meal tickets for them, some of them a hundred meals for a dollar, and some expensive meals at six cents apiece.

The women of the world are rising to the conception that every war is against them. They gain nothing, and they suffer; the number who die at home is about sixteen times as great as the number who die in times of peace. There is typhoid and dysentery in Servia and dysentery in Poland. This war is the most infernal thing we know in history; it is scourging the whole world.

CHAPTER XIV.
PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

MRS. MAY WRIGHT SEWALL

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I must correct one statement made by the presiding officer, lest you give to me an affection that, on a perfectly honest presentation of my claims, you might withhold. I am only temporarily of this city; Indianapolis is home. While I like to have other people hurrah for Hoosierdom, I like to hurrah for California. It is better to hurrah for one another than for ourselves.

I have been much interested in the opening remarks of our president, and find myself perfectly sympathetic with the ideas not only directly expressed, but implied; for I infer from what he has said, that Bishop Bell still has faith in the two or three that are gathered together under the banner of any progressive hope. Now, that is the banner under which we are assembled, and one that has long been flaunting to the breezes of the world.

Again, in the announcement of plans, there is just one sentence to which I wish to object, in order to give my full sympathy to the plans. It seemed as if they were being particularly made for people this side of the Rocky Mountains. Now, there is just one thing in this world that I want to crush. I do not wish to crush any people, because I wish to incorporate within myself the spirit of every nation in the world; but I would like to crush the Rocky Mountains as a boundary between sections of our common country. I do not wish to crush that mighty range itself, for I enjoy its beauty too well as I travel

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back and forth; I do not wish to crush any of its capacity for giving health and wealth and high aspiration to the artist and poet; I only wish to crush what their presence represented during a time when the science and the skill of man had not conquered the problems of transportation and the luxuries of travel that we now enjoy. There was a period when that physical feature was, to a certain extent, a cause for there having been a spiritual barrier. That excuse no longer remains. Therefore, I am eager always to have everything that is fine and splendid on this side of the Rocky Mountains, scale the peaks oblivious of their existence; and everything that is good on the other side of the Rocky Mountains, scale the peaks coming westward, also ignoring their existence.

"Social Progress and War" is my subject. It could be summed up in a sentence, but I am not the kind of speaker who proposes to relieve you in that way. I might say that the one thing that destroys always, in proportion as it itself exists, the one thing that destroys social progress, is war; and yet, as there is another view to take of that, which I will touch upon later, I do not wish to commence with a sentence that will sum up all that I can say. I will say that, during all of my mature life, I have acknowledged the preparation for it which I received under the influence of those wonderful people whom we now speak of as Garrisonian Abolitionists. With them, social progress began among the American people. It didn't have its first roots there. Nothing, of course, so young as that would be sufficiently well rooted to earn veneration. For those initiative efforts were derived from efforts of a similar character across the sea, and from the great principles which first inspired the settlement of our colonies. But there was, as you all know, at that period, a tremendous awakening in regard to

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freedom, and expansion of the idea of what American freedom should be and the message that it should carry to the world, and of the dimensions of the world to which that message should be carried.

Then, all these movements that we now see growing into some kind of maturity, were beginning in various lines of what we call social progress, manifesting themselves in these organizations, local at first, and then growing into those wider and more inclusive organizations which ignore boundaries, just as I want the Rocky Mountains ignored. This movement first manifested itself, so far as women were concerned, in a group movement for woman's political liberty, the tocsin for which had been rung before I was in my cradle, and which made a new world for me to be cradled in and grow up in. Then there were these other movements, ignoring political boundaries that had divided men quite as much as religious boundaries had divided women, and bring together the unlike as well as the like.

Now, from my point of view, social progress has been accelerated almost in direct proportion to the application of the principle of co-operation to people who are unlike each other. So long as people co-operate with one another only to the degree that they share opinions, only to the degree that they belong to the same religious persuasion or the same sectarian group, or belong to the same social caste, having the same bank accounts and following about the same fashions, and have enjoyed relatively the same privileges and suffered from the same limitations: while co-operation was included within such lines, social progress was impossible, for that depends upon leaping over the lines always.

We must first realize what had been accomplished before this tremendous tragedy from which we are all

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suffering to the degree that we enter into the world's life, to that degree we consciously suffer every day. If there is any one here who is not suffering from this war, I want him or her to know that it is because a certain portion of his mental or spiritual faculty is paralyzed, and he hasn't been awakened to his relationship to the peoples involved in the war.

Our social progress, even within the definition that I have indicated, that it should mean the co-operation of the unlike, began only very recently, and I shall be modest enough, gentlemen, not to undertake to measure your progress. I shall leave that for men to state; you might think that I understated it, and I certainly do not wish to wrong my brothers. But I am ready to state, in regard to the social progress that has been conceived, manifested, and officered by women, and, so far as that is concerned, international co-operation among women, except for the few illuminated souls who, in the early years of the nineteenth century, contemplated it, there was no international co-operation among women prior to the year 1887. In that year there began preparations for a festival in our country to celebrate what had already been accomplished in the direction of social progress, as social progress had up to that time been conceived by women. Looking about over the world, we found that the same avenues for expressing the desire for the advancement of social progress had been opened in seven other countries beside the United States, but only in seven others. Now, none of us had thought very much about international co-operation. We had, naturally enough, been occupied with thinking about national co-operation in our big country. National co-operation is a very significant phrase, and it means the co-operation of people separated in national origins as much as the population

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of European countries, the co-operation of people whose homes are as distant from one another as those of the large majority of European nations; so it was such a big thing that it is no wonder that our imagination had not set for its task international co-operation.

But when it was discovered that there were feeble efforts to bring the unlike together in our country, and that these feeble efforts were met every time by prejudices arising from the only root for prejudice which I know, ignorance of one another, and that social progress was impeded by this, then there were some people who saw that the progress of the world depends upon knowing the person unlike myself. Therefore, this enterprise of getting acquainted with people unlike yourself, and almost compelling people who were unlike one another to come so nearly together that they were forced to revise their opinions of one another, so far as their opinions were caused by prejudice based on ignorance—for ignorance is a very sandy foundation. All it needs is a tiny trembling of investigation, a tiny trembling that can be applied by knowledge, and that foundation crumbles.

I wish I could trace for you the experience the women had in trying to bridge chasms between nation and nation, and between race and race, to co-operate with people of different nations and races; but the story, measured by the time, is much too long, or as measured by struggle and achievement, to tell you this morning. I can only say that, beginning with a hope and desire for international co-operation, and with a desire also on the part of many fine women in whom the wish had not blossomed into a hope, there was then only our own country which had a group of women who believed that it could be done. We believed that it would be possible for American women and English women at least to forget all the

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false ideas about one another that had been inculcated in the school histories that they had studied as children, and all the prejudices of the period of time stretching from the Revolutionary War and that we could really get acquainted with one another as neighbors and friends.

I claim for that small group no superiority over others who did not share our hope. I attribute our faith to the fact that we had been brought up in families who had studied their own history well enough to make it impossible for them to hide from their children the fact that, when the colonies were settled in New England by the pure English race, the finest thing about the pure English race was that it had been greatly mixed. Some of us were conscious of the fact, not merely that our blood was mixed, but we had a curiosity about our national ancestry, and a desire to get acquainted with our national ancestry through the nations that had contributed to our lives; and we found that there was nothing to be ashamed of in any of the nations. Our personal pride was fed by what we learned about them; but at the same time our personal affections were chilled by the mistakes we learned of that had been made by them all.

Working along these lines, from that little group nominally of one nationality but actually of many, we have come to be a body of seven million women of twenty-six well-organized national groups. These twenty-six well-organized national groups are continuing to endeavor to get acquainted with one another, and have also expanded their endeavor into lines of actual social service that are the same in all countries, and they include, beginning with the one for which I stand before you this morning, an effort to achieve peace among the nations, to achieve the displacement of war as a method of settling differences by a method of international arbitration. This was

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voted by the women representing nine nations as far back as 1899, representing three million women, and it was the first propaganda in which we endeavored to co-operate.

At the present time, our propaganda covers several subjects. One is, and I think perhaps it is the greatest one to achieve for our respective countries and throughout the world, that there shall be the same personal ideal of personal chastity for men as for women, the achievement of a common moral standard for both sexes so far as personal purity is concerned.

The next great line along which we have attempted to co-operate, was in striving, not necessarily for suffrage, for we found that under monarchical governments as well as under democratic governments there was a great difference between the rights and privileges of men and women, but to achieve for both sexes, in all parts of the world, the same position before the law, the same responsibility for civic progress. We know that, for a republic, the ballot is the best instrument; but it may be different in different countries.

We found that all our work would be greatly improved by the addition of another idea, and that was international education; and so we undertook to foster the efforts made in every country to gather groups of girls as well as boys and have them exchanged between countries so that they might be educated in other countries, that groups from other countries might come to us, and groups from our country go to other countries for their advanced education. Also this advanced education was to be furthered by the definite exchange of literature bearing upon our social and civic conditions, with corresponding literature of other countries.

I think I have indicated enough of our work to give an idea of our desires in regard to social progress, and

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I think I have said nothing that is not included in your own scheme. Doctor Jordan has presented to you the scientific reasons against drinking. Women do not wait until they get scientific proof; practical experience of the effect of drunkenness on men and the horror of it among women, has long ago convinced them of the evil of that.

Of course, there are many tributaries of all this work that will subdivide into a thousand branches. But if we could achieve a world where men are as chaste in their personal habits as in their ideals they have thought women should be, and where women shall be as intelligent and as energetically active as in their ideals they have thought men should be; where the practice of temperance should be universal for both sexes; and where there was a desire to leap national boundaries and erase the lines that have been drawn by prejudice, and bridge the chasms that have been more deeply digged by increasing prejudice and ignorance: could we achieve a world in which we had such men and women, I fancy you know without my saying it, that it would all necessarily have to be accomplished under conditions of peace. You know that every fight to achieve these forms of individual improvement, and the application of the efforts of the improved individual to society in every form, would necessarily be, everywhere, helped by conditions of peace, and blocked by war.

Now we have had a new revelation of what war can do as the enemy of social progress. All the nations that are involved in the war in Europe at the present, that is, all but two of them, have strong national councils of women who are the peers of our own women, peers of the women of the British council and of the French council in desire and in their native ability and their grasp of the problems which we discussed. All of them, the women

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of Servia and of Austria, the best women of both of these countries, were working through their national councils for precisely the same social ideals, the same lifting of the moral standard for the individual and the community. Japan and Turkey and Russia are the only nations involved in the war in which women are not co-operating in this great international movement; and even in every one of these countries there are, though I am sure it will be news to some of you, in every one of these countries there is a little group of richly endowed women, native Russian women in Russia, native Turkish women in Turkey, and native Japanese women in Japan, who have the same ideals and who have come together for the purpose of co-operating with the international movement.

And now has come the war, and these countries are all involved in the war. All. In the meantime, what becomes of the work that was being carried on? Well, as it is a law of physics, I believe, that two bodies cannot occupy the same space at the same time, so it is a corresponding law of spiritual life that one soul cannot be preoccupied and devoted to two opposite lines of endeavor at the same time. It is impossible. What are the women of these countries doing? I know. I can give you the very latest reports, because within the last ten days I have received in the mail letters from eighty-five of my associates who have been answering invitations to attend this conference of women workers which is to be held in this building in July. These women all say the same things: How they want to come, how eager they are to help by giving their names for the foreign section of the advisory board, and in every way possible. But how can they come? One woman, in giving her answer, tells in a larger way the conditions that restrain her movements; but they all tell exactly the same story in different ways.

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One, the president of the Austrian council of women, one of the noblest women it has ever been my pleasure to co-operate with, says: "How can I come? You are in a big, neutral country; you ought to be doing what you are doing, laying the foundations for peace and a clearer understanding of war which shall make war impossible in the future among civilized communities. But what can I do? My only son is now at last in the field with the last reserves called out for Austria; and before that, as you know, my fourteen grandsons and nephews had been scattered over the battlefields of Belgium and Poland and France and Russia. What must I do? I must do what I am doing and what you would have to do in my place. I am trying to feed the hungry at home, and care for those returned to us from the front. I am trying to stimulate the courage and faith of the women, and they are so courageous. I am trying to stimulate them to have courage to stand by their posts as nurses and workers in every field where no men are left to work."

Well, it would seem—would it not?—as if social progress had been rather blocked by the war in Austria.

It has been blocked in the same way everywhere, and we know that the fruits of social progress, the fruits of civilization, architecture and all forms of art, education and political advance, that have taken generations of toilsome, aspiring endeavor to achieve, have been swept away in eight months, as fire sweeps away paper. That is what war does, not only for the work itself, but for the fruit of work; and therefore it seems to me that every sane man and every sane woman in the world must know that the task of to-day is to destroy war. (Applause.)

Now, how can war be destroyed? Not by war. No, my dear friends; if there is a group in the world upon whose minds I desire to impress that fact, it is upon a

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group of Californians. I wish I could impress it upon every one's mind. I wish I could make the Kaiser and all the great men, I wish I could get to them the clear perception of my humble mind, that prosperity for one nation can never come by crushing another. It is impossible, for instance, that the United States should ever go forward to the achievement of its ideals by crushing Japan or any other island of the sea. Nor can Japan, that young and generous empire, go forward to its success by crushing or curbing the United States. Can't we learn the lesson? Must the nations go on through coming centuries slaughtering one another, thinking that thereby nations are to gain? Is that what we have studied history for? We have never read of any ultimate, final achievement of glory or success as the fruit of a war; never. No such thing can be proved by history.

I myself believe so fully in the evolutionary method of accomplishing everything, because I have seen that that is the method in everything that I have ever seen grow. I have never seen an instantaneous growth of anything; but I have seen everything, in fields and gardens, and in the generations of men, developing through slow and toilsome growth, and I see that when this growth becomes conscious, as it does in man alone, this consciousness can be appealed to to co-operate deliberately with the law of evolutionary progress; and when this happens, there is no possibility of checking the advance and no possibility of thwarting its arrival at the goal.

My dear friends, you know that it is our blessed privilege, a happiness indescribable, and a joy and ecstasy so warm that I cannot trust myself, even by myself, to say to myself how blessed a privilege it is, to be a human being, alive in this day of privilege and opportunity. Privilege and opportunity for what? Are we here for

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purposes of determined destruction, or are we here for purposes of determined, intelligent, laborious construction? We believe—do we not?—that co-operation, which is the law of social progress, includes not only co-operation with one another along the old lines of like co-operating with like for ends which both desire, nor only for the co-operation of the unlike with the unlike for great common ends that perhaps neither one had at first recognized, and the co-operation with the unlikes by means to which all the unlikes equally but differently contribute, according to their respective national genius; but we believe that this law of the co-operation of the unlike means also the conscious co-operation of the human with the divine. I believe that; I believe that we may appeal to that force which is within us and which is equally outside of us, and by this wonderful co-operation with the divine, there is no goal that humanity's greatest imagination can conceive that its social institutions may not ultimately demonstrate.

This must be our inevitable faith. But the time assigned me is running short, and I have hardly touched my subject. I must speak to you of that conference which it is the greatest privilege of my life to have the opportunity to organize here this year, when the world is torn by war, when it seemed as if it would be impossible to organize for permanent peace; and it is not for temporary peace that this conference is convened, not for a mere Christmas breathing spell in the name of Him who was cradled in a manger, that the sinews of war may be strengthened for a greater struggle; not a mere Easter armistice so that, while the lilies are growing which symbolize that festival, there shall also grow more reserves of food and munitions of war. It is for permanent peace that we meet, the women of the world, with

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everything that that word implies, and they know what it implies. We, who are the producers of the race, we, who in our blood have brought forth every soldier that is shedding his own blood on the field, we, who have cradled and nursed and reared and taught men, shall bring forth and cradle and nurse and teach no longer for war. (Applause.)

This all means that there must be a reorganization of human society along the same lines and under the impulse of the same principle that all social progress shall be achieved; that is, under the law of co-operation as against the law of competition. The law of competition in industrial life, and the law of competition in social life, is just as destructive of all that is best as the law of competition on the battlefield of nations. That law must be abandoned, and the law and method of co-operation must be adopted. To be adopted anywhere with success, it must be adopted everywhere with sincerity. That is the law.

Now, gentlemen and ladies, what does that imply so far as our daily work is concerned? There are three things to be done instantly and permanently. We have just as much to do in this nation as in any other, and we are called to do it here at this time as no other nation is. We are called to it by the principles upon which our Republic nominally founded and which it is gradually learning to apply to women as well as to men. We are called to it, not by those ideals of the Republic alone, but by our own composite, international character as a nation. I know, as well as anybody, how much effort is being made by one big nation on each side of the struggle for our support on the ground that American civilization depends upon its success. But there can be no victories in this war for us, because for us this, and every war,

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is a fraternal war, a civil war for us, though international for the nations involved in it. Our people are an internationalized people. By that fact we are called upon to unite in our determination to make this the last war. We must revise all our conceptions of patriotism; we must give up as false and as despicable many of the conceptions that we have learned in its holy name. Patriotism should be the love of one's country, but not limited to the love of one country or city, even when that city is San Francisco. It should not be limited to the love of one State, even when it is a State so rich and fertile as California. It should not be limited to one's own country. The moment that patriotism becomes competitive and conflicting, that moment the seeds of the destruction of one's country are being sown.

We know that individual vanity is a weakness and a vice, and arrogance is a weakness, and often not only a weakness but a crime. We know that boastfulness in the individual is a vice that may become a scandal; and then we inculcate vanity to its highest degree, arrogance to its highest power, boastfulness in its most audacious utterances, and united we call them patriotism. Such patriotism is a blight upon our national life. This false instruction, this culture in the organized aggregate of vices that we despise in the individual, must come to an end.

There is another thing that must be revised besides patriotism; that is, our religious dimension. It seems a curious spectacle; and one wonders how the farther progressed spirits who were once incorporated in the flesh regard it, as they hear arising from the heads of all the conflicting armies, five of whom stand as the heads of great religious divisions, the prayers that are daily rising to heaven. Francis Joseph is the head of the Roman section of the church, its secular head; and the

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Czar, whose mind was once illuminated by the flooding light which caused him to call the first peace conference, is the head of the Greek Catholic Church; and the Kaiser is the head of one form of Protestant Christianity; and King George is the head of another; and each of these invokes all destruction upon the armies of the others; each one prays to the same God to call down all blessings upon his own particular army. Would it not be ludicrous, if it were not so monstrous and so tragic? For competitive patriotism incarnates all the vices that we repudiate in the individual. How does each of these countries treat the individual? There is not one country now in the field that does not classify murder as the worst of crimes and pronounce upon the murderer the heaviest of penalties. One weak, isolated individual may not assail the life of another isolated individual without being called a murderer; and if he has plotted his deed and committed it in the dark, he is an assassin, and that is the only thing more atrocious than a murderer.

Yet organized society, under the leadership and by the order of the national governments, may, for years, plot and scheme; and all of them have done it to some extent and have kept a standing army to teach citizens the law of blood. They may do this if they are organized, may assail the lives of other organized nationalities and slay by the million, and be slaughtered by the hundreds of thousands. Yet an intelligent child knows that this is infinitely more murder than the taking of one life by one individual, just as the long-conceived, laboriously prepared-for crime is worse than the crime of the individual. (Applause.)

Now, we must shape our morality to this new code. There is no escape from it for any one who claims to

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have any knowledge either of the elements of logic or of the first principles of Christianity.

There is one more thing that we must do, gentlemen and ladies. We are called to the enormous task of internationalizing and organizing the human heart. In all other respects we are already an internationalized people to a greater extent than any other people. There is no people that is not internationalized in some degree. We are already internationalized in our industry, in our wealth and our property. When prices go up in one country, they go up in others. We are internationalized in our culture. We always have been; we should not have had any culture otherwise. No modern nation originates its own culture, and we have never yet found where the cradle of culture was. The first beginnings of human expression were in psalm and prophecy and story and history, and gradually science evolved, but we cannot say where it first began. Our culture is international or it would be nil. Everything connected with our life at the present time, our food even, is international. The most self-satisfied Californian that ever grew up in this State would be half starved by the monotony of his food if he ate only what was produced in California, and none of it had felt the touch of a more artistic hand than the Californians have yet developed. Even olives and prunes must be sent abroad to get the culinary blessing of the French chef before they are good enough to be sold, at a four-fold price, to the native Californian. Even among the simple costumes worn here this morning, there is many a hat and suit that was manufactured outside of our own country. We are internationalized in every respect, excepting in our affections. We have scorned the emotions, and yet, what is war? War could not be carried on at all except by the agency of organized

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emotion. Very well, then, it can be defeated only by the agency of the opposite, equally well-organized emotional activities of the world. (Applause.)

The only cure for hate is love. The only cure for organized competition is organized co-operation and human affection. Upon these basic principles, the Conference of July 4, 5, 6, and 7 will be held. Gentlemen and ladies, I am here to invite your presence. The meetings will be held somewhere in this civic auditorium, whether by gathering fragments of our conference in separate halls where they can hear, or by aggregating these fragments into the great central hall where they can see. There will be enough of us to fill and overflow it. I feel sure that our combined presence in the name of a great movement and a great idea will not be fruitless.

Women are summoned from all the countries in Europe that have been so distraught by the war, from the belligerent and from the neutral, and only financial inability to get here will keep them from coming; and I cannot believe that the United States will let the women who desire to come be impeded by financial inability. This glorious exposition is to be for a year the world's center; the conferences to be held here will make it the spiritual center, and every one is co-operating to make it a success. The countries, one after another, are forming residential centers, residential committees, with someone as its chairman, and this stands as a little basis of union between the local group and the corresponding nation abroad. And when we get together here, we shall represent the world's highest hopes, sustained by the world's supremest faith. We shall gather here in the high consciousness of the co-operation with divinity for the perfection of humanity.

CHAPTER XV.

PUBLIC UTILITIES AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

BY HON. FRANCIS J. HENEY

I feel as if I owed an apology for coming here to-night to talk to you at all, because I have not had a single moment of time in which even to arrange my thoughts on the subject of this talk. I did expect to prepare something which could be printed, but unfortunately I am living in Los Angeles, and other matters interfered, and at the last moment it was absolutely impossible. So I am just going to give you a talk and not a lecture.

I believe that every man who has done public work can be of more use in explaining and illustrating his argument by what he has learned from his own work, than in any other way. I was brought to that conviction partly by my own experience. In 1906, I was urged by a few prominent men in this community to try to clean up the corrupt municipal conditions existing here, and I consented to undertake the work. At the time I undertook that work, I had been practicing law for about twenty-three years. I had received a common-school education and part of a college education. I had read, like most lawyers, some general literature. I had started out at the age of twenty-one, a Jeffersonian Democrat, believing, as Jefferson did, that the government is a thing to be feared; that the people of a country can only lose their liberty by its being taken away from them by a second party known as the government, or that the government is something distinct and apart from the mass of the people and that the government may steal your

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liberty away from you. It is easy to understand how Jefferson and the men of his day acquired that idea. Up to that time there never had been a democracy, in the national sense. When we speak of a nation, as we do in these modern days, in the modern sense of the term "nation," we must realize that there had never been any such thing as a democracy in the history of the world. Under the different forms of government which had existed, the liberty of the people never had been stolen from them except by those who ruled them.

Great inequality of wealth, whereby an immense proportion of all the wealth of the nation gets into the hands of a comparatively very few people, thus leaving the mass of the people in poverty, had always hitherto been brought about through the power exercised by government. The king would grant franchises for special privileges to some of his favorites, or the emperor, or whoever was ruling, would make large grants of land to his favorites, and thus start inequality of wealth in that way. These franchises, which enabled a man, for instance, to do some special kind of business for the entire nation; these privileges were always sought from the rulers of the nation who had the right to give them out. Consequently, it was logical, perfectly logical, for men to think that the danger to the people of any country came from the rulers, from the government.

But in a democracy all that is changed; and in this democracy we were very careful in preparing the Constitution of the United States to protect ourselves against an enemy who has never appeared and who never will appear. We are in no danger of losing our liberty from the Government, but from the power behind the Government. Our danger comes from the fact that under this form of government the inequality of wealth has been

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brought about by special privileges, and all these special privileges are supposed to come from us instead of from that second party, the Government. I say they are supposed to come from us, because that is purely a supposition; they never do get these special privileges from us. They nominate the public officers for us, not dishonest men, but men whom they know in advance believe that the way to develop a country is to give it away to the few, because the few know how to develop it. After they have nominated honest men with these beliefs, the honest men give these privileges away, and thus we have great inequality of wealth brought about in this country more rapidly than anywhere else in the world.

Of course, there was another reason for the rapidity with which it occurred, and that was, that about a hundred and fifty years ago a man discovered the principles of the steam engine. That revolutionized mankind and started the growth of the modern city. That started modern manufacturing. That made it possible for one man or one corporation to have a million men working for it, and it made it possible for one man or corporation to control the energy of nature to such an extent that it might be equivalent to the labor of fifty million men creating wealth every day. Is it any wonder that wealth has grown more rapidly in the past twenty-five years than ever before in the history of the world? It was because in the last fifty years we have developed the energy of nature to take the place of the energy of men in creating wealth, and the energy of nature which we have brought to this task is so many times greater than the energy of all the human beings on earth that we are able to do from a hundred to a thousand times as much work as ever was done before.

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These natural resources are only five in number, and are of such a character as to be easily susceptible of monopolization: timber, coal, oil, natural gas, and water power. The first one we learned about was timber, and in Europe they cut down the forests to run the machinery with, and during the last hundred years they have been reforestation. After a while, they found a black rock from which they could get energy to run the machinery, in place of getting it from wood, and they called that coal. Up to 1850, we had not produced in this country more than about forty-five million tons of coal; last year we produced and used over five hundred million tons of coal. All that vast energy was working for us creating wealth; and how much do you think it can do? Well, we speak of horse-power. Do you know what we mean by horse-power? We mean what an average draft horse can do in eight hours. How many men does it take to do the work of one average draft horse? It takes twelve average men. How many horse-power do you think we got out of that coal, the five hundred million tons of coal? And who owns that coal, and therefore owns that energy? Why, a few railroads. And that is the first time I have reached a public utility to-night. About seven or eight railroads all controlled by seven or eight men, own seventy per cent of the anthracite coal in the United States, and control ninety-eight per cent of the anthracite coal.

The production, but not the ownership, of bituminous coal has been monopolized, and one man has fixed the price of coal in the United States during the past twenty-five years. That man held the power in his hands of making babies freeze to death by raising the price of coal to the point where the poor couldn't purchase it. He not only held that power; he exercised that power. He did make many babies freeze to death, and yet I suppose

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he is a Christian gentleman. But he has never seen this economic truth. If he had, perhaps he would stop doing it.

I remember Mr. Baer, the president of the Reading road, that owns sixty-five per cent of all the anthracite coal in the United States, said that he was trustee over it by selection of the Almighty. This man has absolutely controlled the price of anthracite coal; this man has had power to levy a tax on you and me whenever he pleased (and he has pleased to do so very often). The chances are that you have paid some of that tax in the clothes you have on, if they were made by the power produced by that anthracite coal, and they were certainly carried across the continent by trains run by some of the Reading company's anthracite coal; and to that extent you have paid a part of the tax that went into his pockets. The furniture you are sitting on, the floor under your feet, everything in this building, paid a tax, and a large tax, to the same individual in the same way.

How did we get into this fix? We were developing; modern civilization was just coming along. We didn't look ahead far enough. Some few citizens did see, but they couldn't convince the rest of us. They didn't convince me. I never saw the light until I saw it from investigations made behind the closed doors of a grand jury in this city, in 1906. That is why I say that a man must talk from his own experience. The political economy that I learned at the university was worse than nothing; it had to be unlearned again. My law studies taught me nothing.

It didn't take these men long to monopolize this coal, because we only started using it to any considerable extent in 1850. Then followed oil; that wasn't discovered until 1859. Last year California produced, in round numbers, a hundred million barrels—more than any nation on earth produced, except the United States, and more

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than any other State in the Union. Now, oil is an energy that the Almighty created according to his divine wisdom, and it is found as far under the ground, in places, as three thousand or more feet in depth. Man has learned to drive pipes down and get it. What does that mean? Three barrels of oil contain as much energy to run machinery with as a ton of coal. It is more economical. It can make furniture; it can make framework for houses, clothes, women's hats; it can make anything and everything that mankind can make, practically, because practically everything now can be made by machinery. But the machines alone do not and cannot make anything; it requires energy to run it. Your body is a machine; it can't make anything except with energy, and you have to put the fuel into the machine to run it.

Now, we have these natural energies, and oil is one of them. There is millions upon millions of men's energy in oil. And that oil belonged to all of us in common. There is more of it in the United States than anywhere else on earth. How did we get rid of it? We don't own it now. John D. Rockefeller owns a considerable portion of it. How did we get rid of it? By unwise laws; that is all. Let me put it another way. The greatest of all the troubles of mankind is poverty. Do you know what that is the result of? Why, it is brought about by laws. Our troubles don't come from law-breakers, the big troubles; they come from law-makers. I wasted a lot of time going after law-breakers; and now, when I say that it was a waste of time, in a sense, I am called inconsistent; but it isn't inconsistency. It is merely an awakening. At the time I commenced prosecuting men in San Francisco, I believed that these few men were the real cause of the trouble. Now I know that the trouble

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started away back, and that it started with our law-makers. (Applause.)

And I know that the whole thing is due to a want of understanding of economic principles by the masses. When you tell anybody that you are going to lecture on political economy, they won't come. In the first place, they will say, "What is the use? I couldn't understand political economy." Why, friends, I can now make political economy so plain that even the president of a university can understand it.

Let me go on with a little of this. I have been giving you political economy now for thirty minutes. Let me give you a little more of it. Only twenty-five years ago, or thirty at the outside, we discovered how to take hydro-electric power from falling water. That is the greatest blessing that ever happened to mankind. We don't begin to realize its possibilities yet. Let me indicate a little of it to you. In the United States to-day, in public ownership, we still have at least four hundred million horse-power of water-power in falling water, over which the federal government has control. I am giving you the estimate of the federal authorities whose business it is to investigate and report upon this matter. You remember that I told you that it took twelve men to do the work of one horse-power; that is, the work that an average draft horse will do in eight hours. When I tell you that we own four hundred million horse-power in energy, that we still own in common and that Rockefeller hasn't got yet, I mean that we own the energy of twelve times that many men; that is, four billion eight hundred million men working eight hours a day forever, because running water will last forever. Your hydro-electric power will last as long as the powers of nature continue to operate. So that you own in common the energy of four billion eight hun-

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four hundred million average men working eight hours a day forever.

What of it? If you only know how to put it to work and make it work for you, it can make all the clothes and furniture and automobiles and everything else that you want. You own it; and you can use it.

Let me show you the other side of the picture now. There are only these five things with which you can run machinery: timber, oil, natural gas, coal, and water-power. Those are all that have been discovered up to date by mankind. Now, let me own all the timber, oil, coal, natural gas, and water-power, and I will let you own everything else in the world, and I will give you all the timber you want for boards and for furniture and for any other purpose except fuel, and I will give you all you want for fuel, if you won't run machinery with it. I will hold that coal and oil and natural gas and water-power and timber, and you may have all the gold and silver mines and the land, the orchards and farms; and do you know what will happen? You will all work for me. You will become industrial slaves, with one alternative: you can go back a hundred and fifty years in civilization and stay there, if you wish, and not become slaves to me. But if you want modern civilization, you will have to pay the tax to me, whatever I say you shall pay, if I own just those five things.

Now, why is this true? Because modern civilization is based on machinery, and machinery won't run unless you have wood, or coal, or natural gas, or oil, or water-power to run it. You would have to give up electric lights and go back to tallow candles. You would have to give up street cars and steam cars and steam boats. You would have to go back to the old wagon drawn by horses and oxen. Why, you couldn't even run a Ford. Can't

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you see it? Not until you get some of my coal, wood, oil, natural gas, or water-power. You can't turn iron ore into steel; and even if you had your rails, you couldn't run an engine on them until you got some of my coal, wood, oil, or natural gas. Let me own these five things; you can own everything else; and you will all work for me, and gradually I will take enough away from each of you until finally you will sink below the poverty line. That is political economy. Simple, isn't it?

What has happened to these things? I didn't tell you what happened to the timber. Four-fifths of the timber in the United States is in private ownership. They talk about our great national forests; but four-fifths of all the standing timber in the United States is in private ownership, and two hundred men own eighty per cent of it. I have forgotten how many millions of acres it is. There is a recent report upon it by the Secretary of the Interior. How did these two hundred men get that timber? By law. Your law-makers are primarily responsible for it. Why did you lose your coal? Bad laws; your law-makers are primarily responsible for the fact that these railroads own eighty-eight per cent and control ninety-eight per cent of the coal. How about the oil? The Standard Oil Company has a monopoly of that to-day, and is getting a monopoly of that produced in California. Natural gas? That goes with the oil. How about your water-power? About nine-tenths of the water-power developed up to date is in the hands of something like ten corporations. Three corporations own considerably over sixty per cent of the water-power developed in the State of California up to date. Do you remember several years ago that there was a coal strike in England, and there was a coal strike threatened in the anthracite region in Pennsylvania? I happened to be in Massa-

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chusetts in a shoe manufacturing town; you know we make two hundred and fifty million pairs of shoes in the United States by machinery every year. I said to one of these manufacturers, "What coal do you people use?" He said, "We use anthracite coal, and we are walking the floor because, if the strike takes place in the anthracite coal regions, every shoe manufacturing plant will have to close down here in this town of Brockton, and every one of us will go broke." And that meant that all the banks in the town would go broke, and that thousands of people would be thrown out of employment. That meant that practically every manufacturing plant in the New England States run by anthracite coal would have to close down. At the same time the strike was on in England. And what happened? Lloyd George had to force through Parliament a minimum wage law, because the owners of the coal miners refused to compromise with the strikers. Forty or fifty men owned all the mines in England. These men were not the Government; they were private parties. The king of England didn't exercise or possess anywhere near the power over the welfare of the people of England that these forty or fifty men did, because if they refused to compromise and take out any coal, every steel plant in England would have closed down, and every mill and every manufacturing plant would have closed down, and England's forty million people depend almost entirely upon manufacturing. So these forty or fifty men had more power than the king of England.

At that same time, there was a strike threatened in our anthracite coal fields. I asked, "Who will determine whether the strike will take place or not?" And they said, "Why, the owners of the coal fields." I said, "Who owns the coal fields?" and they stopped to think. They said, "Eight railroads, and the Reading dominates." Then

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I said, "In reality, whoever controls the railroads, controls the situation. Who controls the eight railroads?" "Morgan." He was then alive, and was over in Europe somewhere on a pleasure trip buying bric-a-brac. And in the hands of Pierpont Morgan in Europe, thus rested the welfare of the business men of this country. Why, I thought we had a democracy here!

Do you see how essential it is to understand something about political economy, before you can even begin to know how to vote? It isn't material whether a man calls himself a Democrat or a Republican or a Socialist or a Progressive, or what he calls himself. The material question is, How is he going to vote on matters that affect the creation of inequality of wealth in the country?—and the monopoly of nature's energy does this on a gigantic scale.

When I went to work here in San Francisco, in 1906, Professor John Graham Brooks came out from Harvard University, where he was Professor of Sociology. He said to me, "Mr. Heney, don't you think that the public ownership of public utilities is the only solution for the graft conditions existing in our large cities?" My reply was, "I should hate to think so." I was still a Jeffersonian Democrat in my beliefs. I had to have it knocked into me; I never did get to see it until after I found that the people of San Francisco couldn't rule; that, as a matter of fact, the few men who own the public utilities could break down our courts, and could absolutely prevent the doing of justice; could scoff at the law; could do what they pleased; and then I commenced to see that there was something that I didn't understand, and finally the clouds rolled away and I began to see that there is only one cure, and that John Graham Brooks had named it: public ownership of public utilities.

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Now, are there any answers to the argument that we should own the public utilities? One is that we couldn't run them as efficiently as private owners do. Another one is that it would cost us more to run them. Another one is that our government would be more corrupt than it was before; that men go into office now to steal, and what would they do if we owned the public utilities? Then there would be much more to steal. There is nothing in any one of these arguments. I used to think there was, and made those arguments myself; but there is a complete answer for every one. But if I was absolutely positive that we would lose money running them, and that we could not run them as efficiently, I would still, nevertheless, be a strong advocate of public ownership of public utilities. Why? Because, after all, the moral well-being, as well as the economic welfare of our people, is the essential thing; and I want to tell you that just as long as you have private ownership of public utilities, you are going to have a temptation that will destroy the moral fiber of some of your most enterprising financiers; you are going to have big bankers who would be ashamed to admit to their children what they do down in the bank; every time there is an election, you are going to have a slush fund furnished by some of the biggest men financially, and some of the most enterprising men in the community, men who could be and would be good citizens if you took this temptation away from them. I am not claiming that I am any better than others; I am not claiming that if I were in the position of some of these men that I might not do the same thing; I am not here for the purpose of telling you how good I am and how bad they are. I am merely telling you that your system is wrong, and that your system produces corruption, and

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will continue to do it as long as you have that system. (Applause.)

Fifty years ago, Boss Tweed was indicted in New York City. He never got into the penitentiary; there was never but one political boss got into the penitentiary anywhere in the United States, and that one got in by an accident and a technicality; he happened to get the worst of the technicality. It was very unfortunate; they had planned it that he was never to go, and if it hadn't been for a slip—one of the judges made a trip East at the wrong time and so created a technicality—he would still be out and around here. I would say he would be more respected and honored than the man who tried to put him in; but he would certainly be more welcome in some of the largest banks in the city.

Now, I say that this private ownership of our public utilities is the cause of the trouble. How did that come about? Cities commenced to grow more and more when we commenced to use machinery and to manufacture under the modern system, and there was a tendency to draw men into the cities where employment could be had working in factories. That grew and grew, and larger and larger bodies of people got to living together, and as a result of this form of civilization, quite a number of things developed as necessary public utilities. I have had men argue with me that you could make bread a public utility, and that, therefore, if the street cars are owned by the public, bakeries ought to be. I am sure the slaughter houses ought to be so that diseased meat cannot be sold to the people. Europe does this, and the meat is inspected by public officials. But public utilities are those things which are essential to the life of a city, municipal public utilities, which practically every person in the city has to use to some extent, and which require a franchise

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to authorize a man to operate the business. It thus becomes a special privilege. Bread-making isn't that. But running a telephone is, because you have to have the special privilege of being authorized to run wires along the streets that belong to the public, or through houses or in other places that do not belong to you. That privilege is what distinguishes it.

What is another public utility? Street cars. What is another? Lighting by electricity or gas, because you have to have the privilege of using the public streets in a way that the general public doesn't use them, for wires and pipes, etc.

What else? We have lighting, heating, transportation, water, and telephones. For water, the laying of the pipes is a special privilege. So you see what the distinction in these things is, which we call public utilities. Originally carrying off the sewage in the city was done by private individuals or corporations, constructing sewers and charging for the privilege of using them. There was a time when there were no public schools; they were all privately conducted. There was a time when there were no public jails; the public paid private people to conduct private jails, and paid board for the public prisoners put in these private jails. There was a time when there was no public fire department; when private corporations or associations looked after the questions of putting out fires in the city. Gradually we found out that some things had to be done by the public, and for the benefit of the entire public, and so, out of about thirteen public utilities, we took over seven, and left the other five for private corporations. Which seven did we take over? The fire department and the police department were taken over by us. In America we have had public schools from the beginning. England only got public schools in 1876.

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We have taken over the paving and cleaning of the streets; individuals used to keep the streets clean. I can recall when the sprinkling of the streets here was done by individuals paid by the individual store keepers; and one would pay and one wouldn't, and the sprinkler would sprinkle in front of the store that had paid and not in front of the one that hadn't, and the dust from in front of the store that hadn't paid would blow in the door of the one that had.

So we took over all these departments; but we only took over the ones that we couldn't possibly expect to make any profit out of, and all those that there might be a profit in, we left to the private corporation to conduct. How did that come about? Why, the private corporations were anxious to have us take over the profitless ones; nobody opposed it. We took over the schools, and some of the private schools did oppose it, but the opposition didn't amount to much, and private corporations were glad to let us have the fire department and the police department. But then when some of us wanted to take over the street cars and run them, they said, "Hold on; you can't do that." They tell us that politicians can't run street cars; the people can't do that. They can run a fire department because that doesn't amount to anything and isn't important; what does it matter if a city like San Francisco does burn up two or three hundred million dollars worth of property? But the people can't be trusted to run the street cars; they should confine themselves to the fire and police departments, where there is no profit.

Why shouldn't we run a publicly-owned telephone? We all know that a telephone ought to be a monopoly; there shouldn't be two different telephone systems. We didn't know it until we tried, but after we tried it we knew it; we found that with two in operation, we had to have

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both of them, and so had to pay double. Why not run a public telephone system? Why, they tell us, that is a business the public can't run. It can run the school department; of course, it doesn't require any brains to run a school department and teach the children, but it takes brains to run a telephone business and put the wires up. There is no profit in running schools; they are free. If there were a profit, they would tell us it was impossible for us to run the schools; that politics would get into them and they would be no good. But if we were going to run a free telephone system, they wouldn't agree to it, because there is too much money in the one they are running, and they don't want to let go. And so, when any city in the United States has attempted to take over one of the profit-making utilities, the people have been told by most of the newspapers in that particular city that it was all nonsense and dangerous; that the corrupt politicians would steal everything. We, here in San Francisco, listened and believed all that; but finally we tried one lonesome street-car line on Geary Street, and after the public got it running it made so much profit that we were almost afraid to tell ourselves what we were making. The public operation of it has been opposed by the public utility owners for years. Every time there was a fight made to put it through, nine-tenths of the bankers in this city fought it and furnished money to the political funds to fight it. Nine-tenths of the members of the Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade fought it. Why? Merely because they had wrong ideas of political economy. What gave them the wrong ideas? The ownership of stock and bonds in public utilities. Cutting coupons gave them the wrong ideas, and borrowing money from the bankers who owned the bonds, and having those bankers whisper in their ears that it would kill San Francisco.

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What has the United Railways been doing for years? Refusing to extend its lines unless they were promised a franchise for fifty years so that they might fasten their tentacles upon the public. And did the bankers protest that this privately owned and atrociously managed public utility was injuring San Francisco? Not a word; on the contrary they said that the muckraker who accused these men of graft and corruption ought to be run out of the city.

Why, don't you see what private ownership of public utilities does? It poisons the minds of some of the men who would otherwise be the most useful men in the community. Let me show you how. The cities of Europe have taken over the public utilities, most of them. Like us, they started with private ownership; but over twenty-five years ago they discovered their error, and ever since they have been taking over the public utilities. Practically every large city in Europe owns its own street cars.

Well, we have started to do it by getting hold of some of the street-car lines in San Francisco. We started with the Geary Street line, and then tried to extend it. When we were fighting for new bonds to extend these lines, the *San Francisco Chronicle* made a bitter opposition fight; it was getting paid for doing it.

What was the objection to it? The *Chronicle* said, "What would have happened if we had had public ownership of the street cars, the gas, and the telephone when Schmitz was mayor of San Francisco and Ruef was political boss?" I think if anybody can answer that question, I am the man, because I spent two years with a grand jury on that subject. The best way to find out what would happen is to inquire what did happen. What did happen? Seventeen out of the eighteen supervisors making up the Board of Supervisors, or City Council,

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made confessions; came before the grand jury and confessed to all the crimes they had committed. What had they done? Accepted bribes. What bribes had they accepted? Well, they had accepted a bribe from the gas company. What for? They had been elected on a platform pledging them to make the gas rate seventy-five cents; they were paid seven hundred and fifty dollars apiece to make the gas rate eighty-five cents. The political boss, Ruef, got twenty thousand dollars, and gave half of it to Schmitz, the mayor, and the other half was divided up among the supervisors; seven hundred and fifty dollars apiece among eighteen of them. That was for making the gas rate eighty-five cents. What would have happened if we had had public ownership? Would the public have bribed the supervisors to raise the price? Why, it is ridiculous. Why were they bribed to make it eighty-five cents? That ten cents extra per thousand feet of gas made an increase to the gas company of about three hundred thousand dollars a year in income. I have heard it said this political boss was a friend to the poor; that he only robbed the rich corporations. The gas company gave him twenty thousand dollars for doing what? For making the price of gas eighty-five cents, which gave the gas company three hundred thousand dollars. Where did that three hundred thousand dollars come from? Most of it came from the poor, because the rich don't use gas very much; they use electricity. But in the modern cities, the poor use gas for cooking, heating and lighting; they are the ones who use most of the gas, and they paid that extra ten cents, which amounted to three hundred thousand dollars; to go into the pockets of whom? Some of our biggest bankers. You may get the impression after a while that I am down on bankers, but I am not. Far from it. I would like to be in a position to borrow from

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every bank in the United States. The bankers perform a very useful service in a community; but I am down on leaving this temptation where some of our best men, who are bankers, are put in such a position. I don't want to save their pockets; I want to save their souls.

You can approach this from either the economic or the moral standpoint, and the argument is just as strong from one side as the other. What happened when men were prosecuted for accepting these bribes? Some of our biggest bankers and merchants in the strongest social clubs of this city, and I was a member of every one of them, made the defense openly, "Well, of course they did it, but they had to do it." Had to do what? Had to commit a felony, had to undermine the foundations of government by bribing public servants, one of the worst crimes that can be committed; and they did it "to protect their investments." Why, four hundred and fifty years before Christ, a better Christian doctrine than that was taught by Socrates; after he had been condemned to death he refused to flee because he would be breaking the laws of his country and he had been preaching all his life that it is the duty of the citizen to obey the laws, and so he remained and accepted death. And yet private ownership of public utilities has brought men to a pass in this country where our most influential citizens openly defend in their social clubs the committing of these crimes on the ground that "a man has to protect his investments." Three hundred thousand dollars additional income is five per cent on six million dollars, isn't it? Where were the six million dollars of bonds whose fictitious value would be wiped out over night by a reduction of the gas rate to seventy-five cents? They were lying quietly in the banks; and the bankers were merely saying that the public should continue to pay eighty-five cents because they were loan-

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ing money to the owners of these bonds, and those bonds wouldn't be worth so much as security if the price of gas was lowered.

It was the same with the telephone and the street railways. What else did the supervisors confess? They had been bribed by the Home Telephone Company that wanted a franchise; they got one hundred and twenty thousand dollars from the Home Telephone Company to grant it a franchise so that it could come in and compete with the Pacific States Telephone Company. They got thirty-five hundred dollars apiece. Now, the Pacific States Telephone Company didn't want that franchise given; it had to "protect its investment." It was already in, and its officers thought they had a right to protect themselves against competition. So they sent their man down to give a personal bribe to the individual supervisors, and he paid them five thousand dollars apiece to vote against the Home franchise. Thus, they got five thousand dollars in the left hand, and thirty-five hundred dollars in the right hand, and then they went the way Abe Ruef told them to go; and now the Home Telephone has sold out to the Pacific States Telephone Company and the latter wants to consolidate the two systems. The *Chronicle* says, "What would have happened if we had had public ownership at that time?" Would the public have bribed the supervisors to grant the franchise, and also not to grant the franchise? Why, nothing would have happened.

The supervisors also accepted a bribe of two hundred thousand dollars from the street railway company; Ruef divided one hundred thousand dollars thereof with Schmitz, the mayor, and divided up the rest among the supervisors. What would have happened if the city had owned its own street railways? Would the public have bribed the supervisors to change from the underground

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cable to the overhead trolley? Why, of course not. You see, under public ownership there would have been no bribery. I don't believe that Schmitz would have been elected if we had had public ownership. If we had public ownership and our bankers and merchants showed the interest that they do in the honest conduct of some parts of the city government, I think that the public would get so that it would have some confidence in the recommendations of the bankers and merchants and the Chamber of Commerce on the subject of politics. But just as long as present conditions exist the public will rightfully suspect them every time they recommend anything. But don't you see what would happen if the public owned the public utilities that profit is made from? In order to have a thriving, progressive town, you would have to have efficient service from the street cars and gas and electricity, and from the water system and telephone system. With what result? With the result that every banker who is interested in seeing the town prosper would be in favor of good government and efficiency. He wants good government now, but he wants that kind of good government which will allow the street cars to make all the money they can, and the other utilities all they can; and if you don't permit that, he would rather have bad government, and will make alliance with the tenderloin in order to beat you at the polls and elect men who will give them what they want. That happens over and over again in every big city in the United States, and once in a while the people dimly see what the trouble is, and some reformer stirs them up and they elect a reform ticket, and the new government isn't in power a month before the newspapers commence to ridicule it and criticize, because, back of the newspapers, the public utility corporations are busy. They work through the biggest advertisers; and

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so the public mind is confused in regard to the reform administration and by the time it has been in two years, and has been misrepresented every day for two years, you sweep the reformer out of office and put back the old machine, and you think you have done your duty as citizens; and you have acted conscientiously, but, my! how stupidly.

But let all the utilities be owned by the public and then your banker will want to have them honestly and efficiently conducted, and he will help you. Will there be stealing? Why, if a public officer steals, what happens to him? If a treasurer steals money, he is sent to the penitentiary; or a tax collector who steals is punished; there is no public excitement about him. It is only when you get after somebody who has been doing business for the public utility corporation that there is any excitement. Let a man steal public funds, and see how every banker and merchant will want to send him to the penitentiary. They all joined in wanting to send Abe Ruef to the penitentiary; every newspaper and banker in town seemed to be in favor of it up to the time that he made confessions in open court; and the very next morning thereafter the *Chronicle* went over on the other side and commenced to oppose the prosecution. Why? Because some of the gentlemen who furnished the bribe money would be indicted, and big business wouldn't tolerate the punishment of the men who did the bribing; and they didn't tolerate it, and the prosecution wasn't successful. Finally they got enough newspapers on their side so that they were able to confuse the public mind, and then a district attorney was elected who had privately arranged to dismiss all the indictments and stop the prosecution. There is only one way to stop corruption of this character in our

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large cities, and that is by the public ownership of all its public utilities.

And so we are trying to get public ownership, because then these men who are doing these things will join with us to get efficiency, and it is demonstrable that everything in government that they demand shall be efficiently conducted, is efficiently conducted. Everywhere, even under corrupt conditions, the fire departments are efficient. New York City is world famous for the efficiency of its fire department. Had not the big pipe that brings water into San Francisco been broken, San Francisco would have been saved in 1906 by the efficiency of its fire department. Why was it so efficient when we had such corrupt government? Don't you see that the people who dealt with Ruef, and joined hands with the tenderloin, and permitted it to be run wide open in violation of the ordinances, and bribed the supervisors, these men demanded efficient fire protection even from Ruef, because they owned the big buildings; they owned the fire insurance companies, and they paid the losses, and so they insisted upon efficiency in this one particular thing. How about the police department? Do they want honest policemen everywhere? No. They don't care about bunco steerers or gambling; but they want business houses protected against burglary; they want the traffic on the streets conducted efficiently because it interferes with business if it isn't efficiently done. Do they get it? Why, of course they get it. Under Tammany, in New York, they have as fine a service on Fifth Avenue as anywhere on earth, in the way the traffic is taken care of, and the same police divide up with the pickpockets who rob on Fifth Avenue between midnight and morning. The power back of Tammany is the Wall Street bankers; and in every city in the United States, back of the so-called political machine you will

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find the men who are making money out of the public utilities.

So I say, from an economic standpoint, and from the moral standpoint, both, you must have public ownership of utilities. Wouldn't you rather lose money on your street cars and your telephones and your water system and your electric lighting, than to have your boys and girls brought up to believe that it is morally right to "protect an investment" by bribing public servants?

You cannot break down the moral standards of young men and women in one direction without weakening the entire structure in every direction.

I have gone over my hour. If I have started you thinking, I have done all that I came here for to-night. Go home and think it all over, and when you think you have found some answers to my arguments, drop me a line and ask me for it, and I will tell you what the answer is. Because there is an answer. The thing is so plain to me now that I only wonder why I didn't always see it.

CHAPTER XVI. OUR CITIES AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

BY DANA W. BARTLETT.

The city has come to stay. Nearly fifty per cent of all the people are living now in metropolitan areas. Try as hard as we may to encourage the back-to-the-land movement, we have very little hope of changing the drift city-ward. So the main thing to do is to make the city the very best place possible, to make every city a "city livable."

I am thinking to-night of the power of environment upon the life of those who live within the city. I am thinking more and more of the environment in its relation to character building, and health, and morals. I used to talk more about heredity; but as I have seen, through years of service in the city, the power of physical conditions as they bear upon the lives of others, I feel like doing all in my power to change those conditions for good.

I have watched the effect of the surroundings upon the lives of so many; I have seen them go down so rapidly, and it seems to me that if there is any way out of such conditions, we must find it. We cannot afford to spoil our cities as we are doing; we must destroy the slum. Let me give you just a little illustration, which I ran across in London. You have read of the garden cities of England, that wonderful movement spreading from England over the continent. I have visited many of them. The plan is to buy a large tract of land and move out the factories from the city, and move the people out, and give them the finest kind of homes and surroundings; the finest

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surroundings that anybody could wish for. Two-thirds of the land is kept as agricultural land, never to be built upon, and they allow only ten houses to the acre, so that it can never become overcrowded. The movement is a wonderfully interesting and suggestive one, and we hope that it will spread here.

They took an examination of boys of fourteen years of age in the slum schools of Liverpool, and in the garden village of Port Sunlight, where Sunlight soap is manufactured, and where the surroundings are splendid; good air and good food. They found that the boys in the garden city were six inches taller and weighed thirty pounds more on the average than the boys in the slum schools of Liverpool.

You remember during the Boer War, the recruiting officers went down into the slums of London and Liverpool, but they found that they could get very few recruits; they all fell under the requirements. And England to-day, in order to get soldiers, is having to take men under the standard height because the slum has degenerated the stock. You know why. When we see the drunken women with their sickly children in their arms, and the fearful conditions, and realize that the fathers and grandfathers of these children have lived there, never knowing where the next meal was to come from, it is evident enough why they deteriorate.

The London County Council has done a wonderful work. It started to buy up the slum area. They tore down the old tenements and built beautiful apartment houses, and cleared large, open spaces with flowers; but they soon discovered that they were not accomplishing anything, because the people that had previously lived there moved into some other place and formed a new slum, and the better class of people moved into these

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dwelling that were so nice. So then they went out into the country and bought up large estates, and built homes for the people. Then, before they tore down the slum buildings, they said, "Here we have a beautiful place in the country, where we will give you cheap car fares." And in this way they got the people out there and they are getting rid of the slums, in the great city of London.

Why should we allow people to live in the fearful conditions that they do in this city and in Los Angeles, and in all the cities of this State. We pay no attention to it. Yet these people are being degraded by their surroundings, when it is for the city itself to see that they are properly housed. They have learned the lesson across the water, and in other places municipalities are attempting to remedy conditions. Buenos Aires is devoting ten million dollars to house its people. Ontario is making it possible for philanthropic companies to issue stock, and the city itself will guarantee three-fourths of the stock. One of these companies in Toronto has issued two hundred and fifty thousand dollars and the city has guaranteed seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, which they are now using to rehabilitate the poorer sections of that city.

We cannot afford to have our people live in the terrible conditions that they are living in now; considering the value as laborers, and as fathers and mothers and citizens, it will pay the city to put money into such an enterprise.

We have just had a prize contest for plans for workingmen's houses. There will be seven who will win in this prize contest. We are hoping to find twenty-five thousand dollars at six per cent with which we can buy the first unit and construct these model houses for the working people. We believe that we can build a house of four rooms and bath, on one-tenth of an acre, and sell it

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to the working man for one thousand dollars at ten dollars a month, and that will make it possible for a two-dollar-a-day man to get a house for himself. We believe in making a city of homes, not of apartment houses or tenements. We are going to have all about us in every city better conditions. The great factories can no longer afford to buy land in the richest districts. The Iron Works in Los Angeles wanted two acres more land, and they found that this two acres would cost so much that they could better afford to go out to the garden city of Torrance and buy twenty-five acres, and that is what they have done. So the factory will move out of the city. They can build model factories and model homes for the people outside of the city, and when that town of Torrance was built, there was a clause put in the charter that no liquor can ever be sold in that territory. But they are planning to build a library and a schoolhouse and a hospital, and in the years to come the thousands who work in these factories will live in model homes and will have model surroundings, and will have a chance to become model men and women, morally and physically.

I think that we can do nothing more important in this movement for social reform than to give attention to the housing of the people, and especially of the immigrants who may come to us in the next few years.

CHAPTER XVII.
IS CONFLICT THE PRICE OF SOCIAL
PROGRESS?

BY GUY V. TALBOT.

I shall speak to you, not with regard to a practical, specific, social problem, but rather with reference to the underlying thought which makes necessary the dealing with specific social problems. It is a fact that every epoch of human civilization, through advance in social progress, is due to the thinking of the people. The epochs of civilization are thought-created epochs, and I want to discuss with you, for a few minutes, this question that underlies much of our social activity; Is conflict the price of social progress?

Haeckel, the last great exponent of the material theory of evolution, made this statement in one of his last books. His meaning is this; that the epochs of civilization, of social progress, are a recapitulation or a going over again of the history of the human embryo from the cell to a complete living organism.

Two years ago I used to preface all my addresses with this announcement: I am the father of a pair of twins. I am still the father of these twins, but the newness has somewhat worn off. But I have noted this, that these twins and their two brothers, did not arrive at self-consciousness at once; they were not born self-conscious. By a process of experience, sometimes hard and bitter, they arrived at self-consciousness. And the human race, whether or not it organically reproduces the changes of the human embryo, does scientifically reproduce the his-

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tory of a human being in arriving at self-consciousness. We are not yet socially self-conscious. Some of us thought the race had almost arrived at racial consciousness, at a consciousness of human solidarity, when the whole world was plunged in gloom by the announcement that the nations of Europe were at war, and then our theory was shot to pieces. Men were no longer brothers, but demons being hurled at one another by higher authority. But in spite of the fact, it remains true that society to-day as never before is coming to social self-consciousness, more than at any preceding time in the world's history; we are conscious of brotherhood, and it has been a long, bitter, hard struggle through which the race has had to come, even to arrive at the first pale glimmerings of brotherhood.

In the field of biology, the study of human origins or of any other physical origins, there is a conflict in the study of microscopic life; there is constant conflict. Let me illustrate it. We have the germ theory of disease, that is, not a theory but a demonstrated fact. Many diseases are carried by means of bacteria. The function of the leucocytes, the white blood corpuscles, is to destroy the bacteria that find access to the blood through the air passages or through some cut or otherwise. They are called the scavengers of the blood, and their function is to make war upon the foreign forms of life that enter the human body, the disease-producing germs. And we have strong bodies, able to withstand the attacks of these enemies just in so far as we have a strong army of white blood corpuscles in our blood. Our power of withstanding disease depends on the army of leucocytes in our blood. Therefore, our physical health is dependent on a conflict constantly waged in the blood. That means, certainly, that physical progress of the human organism is

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dependent somewhat on that conflict waged in the blood by the natural scavengers of the blood against the enemies of human health.

It is also a fact that in the study of animal life on this planet, we find a constant conflict in the animal world, the weaker being destroyed by the stronger. We call that the survival of the fittest. In spite of the fact, however, that the stronger rises on the back of the weaker, there are to-day living armies of insects, for example, that have been able to survive; living armies of little animals that have been able to survive, because of their power of adaptation. But there is conflict in the physical world about us. It is true that there have been conflicts between individuals in the human race ever since Cain killed his brother, and conflicts between tribes, ever since the herdsmen of Abraham quarreled with the herdsmen of Lot; and there have been conflicts between races, ever since Moses led his Israelites out of Egyptian bondage; and conflicts between nations ever since the wars between Persia and Macedonia.

But that doesn't necessarily mean that the progress of human civilization, the social progress of the race, has been at the price of conflict, for it is a well-known fact that man, as he develops, differs from the orders below him, in that he directs consciously his progress toward a given goal, and as men in the social organism become socially conscious, and direct that organism toward a given social goal, no longer then is the price of that progress the conflict of the various groups in the social organism. Let us apply this to the governments of the world.

What is the cause of the colossal conflict being waged in Europe to-day? Was the throwing of the bomb that killed the archduke the cause? That was merely the torch

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that set off the conflagration, not the cause. Was it the violation of Belgium's neutrality? That was not the cause, though that may have caused England to enter the conflict.

If you would understand any epoch of human civilization, you must understand the dominant thinking of the people of that particular epoch, and the cause of the European war is to be found in an idea that had become an obsession of the people of Europe. Let me give you a development of that idea. The modern scientific revival began a generation ago with three men: Darwin, Huxley, and Spencer. They gave to the world the doctrine of the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence; the doctrine that the physically fittest survive in a struggle. This was taken up by the German philosopher, who died in a mad house, and developed into a philosophic theory of human development; the doctrine of the superhuman. This doctrine of the German philosophers, Nietzsche and Treitschke, developed into a theory of government; and this was one of the great advances of human thinking, when this great scientific doctrine was applied first to individual humans and then to the race; when it was taken over by the historian and developed into a theory of government, the theory that that government is the fittest to survive which is the strongest physically and that has the strongest armies. This theory of government by Treitschke, was taken up by Bernhardt, and by him developed into a policy of German government, and this policy became an obsession with the German people, and not only with them, for they are not different from their brothers, but of all the civilized world, that that nation is the fittest to survive in the struggle which is physically the strongest. And as the result of that idea, we have had the mad race of rival armaments, and there will come

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no peace, no matter how many peace congresses we have, and so on, until this false doctrine of internationalism is done away with, and in its stead we have the great international federation, based on the brotherhood of man, and not on the conflict of races and nations.

This obsession must give way to a rational and correct theory of social progress. Applied specifically, is it true that conflict, and as applied to nations conflict means war, is it true that it is the price of national progress? Apply it to France. France as a nation has, perhaps, passed through more international struggles than any other nation of modern times. What is the result? Are the French people stronger or more advanced because of those struggles. Apply it commercially. France to-day carries an economic burden that she can never pay. Her war debt, before the beginning of this present war, was six billion dollars, and it taxed the French people to pay even the interest on this colossal war debt.

Take it physically. The stature of the Frenchmen of to-day is two inches less than it was before the Napoleonic wars, and if you read contemporary historians, you will find that even French historians have spoken of France as a decadent people, a nation whose death rate is greater than her birth rate. And the reason for that, it seems to me, is because, in the time of the Napoleonic wars, three millions and a half of the flower of France were sacrificed on the field of battle, and during the war of 1870-71, again the flower of France was sacrificed on the field of battle. Every race that has passed through this phase of war has found that its progress was in spite of, and not because of, the physical conflicts through which it had passed.

Great Britain is great because it is a federation of states. Germany is great because of the German feder-

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ation of states. Modern Italy has developed because it is a united Italy, and the United States because they are united States. The nations that work together, that are united, are progressing, and the nations that are in continual conflict are going back. What is the matter with Mexico? If conflict is the true price of national greatness, no country on earth ought to be greater than Mexico, for no nation in the last few years has passed through so many struggles as Mexico. Yet no one speaks of Mexico as going forward. Conflict makes for regress rather than progress, at the present time.

What is true of the nations of the world is more especially true of the fictitious classes into which modern society is divided. "We cry peace, peace, and there is no peace" between the nations to-day. We have been crying peace at peace congresses for years, and we have done the same thing with regard to capital and labor; and yet there is not an industry in this Republic that is organized on a basis of brotherhood, but our industries are organized on a basis of conflict, and there can be no peace between capital and labor until the idea of conflict is superseded by the social idea of brotherhood, and brotherhood means democracy and co-operation. Is it true that the conflicts between labor and capital have made for progress? Is it true that a strike makes for the advance, either of industry or business in any given community? Rather does not a strike mean a breaking up of the industrial organization and the industrial processes in the community, and doesn't the constant conflict in the industrial world to-day make for inefficiency and dissipation of energy and the reduction of physical forces of the units involved, rather than make for progress and advance? Business has learned that of conflict within business—competition is the word there that spells conflict—the cap-

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italistic end of the business world has learned that conflict is not the price of progress, and capital to-day co-operates, combines, organizes, because it no longer believes in competition. It believes in competition with labor, but not with itself, and so it organizes and combines. Labor has learned that competition is not a successful way of selling labor in the market, and so it has organized, because conflict or competition in the labor market has not made for the advance of labor. So labor, on its side, has learned that conflict is not the price of progress. But the two units have not learned that co-operation is a bigger word than either capital or labor. They co-operate with themselves, but the two elements are separated to-day and do not co-operate, because industry is based fundamentally on the idea of conflict. Capital organizes to increase dividends to the highest point, and labor organizes to increase wages to the highest point, and there can be no peace until industry is organized on the basis of brotherhood and democracy.

All the sciences are working that way. There are several movements in the world to-day looking toward democracy in industry. The movement had its beginning when Martin Luther nailed his theses to the church door, or perhaps I should say rather when Jesus Christ came with his doctrine of the divine fatherhood. The spirit was brought into politics when Cromwell rode over the forces of royalistic England, and from that day to this the democratic idea has been growing, until the despotic governments have begun to feel its influence, and it is being felt in the field of industry. If the gospel of Jesus Christ is to be fully lived upon this earth, then the people of America, through the federated churches of America, must be pledged to the idea of industrial democracy.

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The trade union movement is making for democracy in industry; syndicalism, the I. W. W., is a movement looking toward industrial democracy, though it is social anarchy. It teaches that the laborer produces all wealth, and is therefore entitled to all wealth. Socialism looks toward industrial democracy, but believes that the end is not to be obtained by direct action but by political action. The syndicalist believes that property is his to take, since he has produced it, and therefore it is not stealing to take it. The socialist would take over the means of production and distribution in the nation for all the people, by political action.

The church also looks toward social democracy, and the word it uses to-day is social justice, and social justice means the application of the principles of brotherhood, the principles of the gospel of Jesus Christ applied to the whole of human life, so that each man shall have his just deserts, and be a brother to every other man.

So whether we take it in the field of government or industry, it is not true that physical conflict is the price of social progress, but rather that social progress has been in spite of, and not because of, physical conflict. Lester F. Ward has a theory which he calls intellectual egalitarianism. He means that society advances because of the knowledge of its people, enabling them to work consciously for a given goal, and that the only true social progress is that which comes, not from above, foisted upon the masses, but which comes from within the masses themselves. He believes that education and culture will ultimately permeate the whole of the lump until society becomes socially self-conscious, and will then consciously direct its progress toward a given goal; and that goal,

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my friends, is the brotherhood of man and the kingdom of God on earth.

General Sherman said that war is hell, and his definition has never been disputed. Conflict is war, and to say that conflict is the price of progress, is equivalent to saying that hell is the price of heaven; and that we don't believe.

CHAPTER XVIII.
OUR PUBLIC SCHOOL PROPERTIES AND
SOCIAL PROGRESS.

BY DANA W. BARTLETT.

These are great days we are living in; greater than the days of the Renaissance; greater than the days of the Reformation. The next ten years will mean more than any hundred years that the world has ever seen. It is a mighty fine thing to live in these days. I like to stand before a group of students in a high school or college and look into their bright, earnest faces, and realize that they have many years to the good, compared with what was before me when I left school thirty odd years ago. We were pioneers in those days. We had to try things out for ourselves, and finally, out of it all, evolve some definite line of work. Now the young people coming out of school are able to enter into these great openings, the new social opportunities which are theirs.

The last legislature passed a revolutionary bill; I hope that you are all familiar with it. It is called the Civic Center Bill, and it made every schoolhouse in the State of California a civic center. It made it mandatory on the Boards of Education to grant the free use of the school buildings to citizens, no charge being made for light, heat, or janitor or supervision, if these things are necessary. Almost any kind of activity can be carried on under that law. It is true that the word "religion" is left out, and the average county superintendent will probably rule that sectarian services cannot be held in the school. But everything else that the citizens want to

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have can be held in the schoolhouses of the State of California. It seems to me that most of the people, or at any rate a great many of them, cannot know this fact, or there would not be a schoolhouse in the State that would not be a center of life and interest in that community. We have lived so long thinking that the school, with the vast expenditure which it involved in buildings and land, was built simply for the children to use five days a week for a few hours a day. In these days of efficiency, we are seeing that it is not fair to the tax-payers to use such buildings only a part of the time. So we are going to use our school buildings for the good of all the people.

A century and a half ago, on the Atlantic coast, there was discontent and unrest, and the common men began to meet and talk in the town halls and in the town meetings. They were people the world had never heard of before; they did not represent kings. They were simply the common people, representing the common mind, and as they mixed together in these town halls so many years ago, really the Revolutionary War was fought out there in those town meetings, rather than on the battle fields.

A century and a half has passed, and unrest and discontent in a time of plenty again exists, and men are beginning to meet and talk again. We have not to-day the town halls, but we have the schoolhouses; and again the people will meet together and elect their presiding officer and form an organization and discuss and talk, and again we will have a revolution—not by means of guns, as in the older days, but by means of the ballot.

So I feel that these are very wonderful days in which we live, days in which we may say that we are glad we are alive. Here are the buildings, all built for us; here is this opportunity for the expression of democracy. Democracy thus far is, after all, not much more than sim-

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plified autocracy. Until all the people have a part in it, you cannot call it democracy. But in this State we have an opportunity to write our own laws; the simplest people in the State of California can begin to agitate for any law or ordinance they may desire. They may work out their ideas through the initiative, or demand a referendum, and the people can decide what the law shall be. And remember, it is not safe to have such power without proper education, and that must come through the use of the public school buildings.

If, a year ago, there had been a large opportunity for the expression of democracy in Europe, think you that the smoke of battle would to-day be hiding the sun? If the internationalists had been given a month or two months to meet and consider and talk, do you think there would have been any war in Europe to-day? If, instead of a few men at the top declaring war, it had been left to the people to talk it out in the schoolhouses, a way of settlement would have been found and there would have been no war.

So in our own economic problems and moral problems, you must really get back to the people before you have any real form. I do not believe so much in reforms from the top, in forcing reforms upon the people, as I do in the people becoming educated in regard to their needs and desires, and expressing them, as they naturally will, and demanding changes in the government to meet those needs. They themselves will bring about reform.

Take, for instance, the planning of the city. What can any one man, what can twelve men do? In this city, for example, ten years ago, you sent for the greatest city planner in the world. You remember what he did; how he built the bungalows on Twin Peaks and drew his wonderful plans, and after the fire he came back and

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offered San Francisco that wonderful plan, that would have made this a far more beautiful city than it is. But there was no one willing to accept the plan; the whole scheme was entirely from the top, and so the Burnham plans were rejected.

You must first go to the people and educate them if you want a new charter in any city; you cannot impose a charter from above, but the people must talk and think out a plan together, and after a time you will get something worth while. It may not be the best; the experts might say that they could give you something far better. The Kaiser has been able to make reforms in German cities greater than anything we have here. It is a wonderful thing to see those cities, without slums, transformed, but transformed from above by the power of autocratic government. Over there the Kaiser and the burgomaster, and the influential citizens can work out these things in a way that we cannot do here. But somehow we here feel that it is better to begin at the bottom and work up.

So there has come this opportunity of getting together; this getting together in a schoolhouse and talking these things over. If you know people, things look very different. If you don't know a man, you may call him a barbarian, but if you come to know him, you won't. People are just folks; they are all just folks. I have had thirty years of life in the slums of our great cities; I have raised my family where most people, perhaps wouldn't care to live; but I have come to realize that people are just folks after all.

When you come to know one another, the differences are not very great. The colonel's lady and Judy O'Grady are sisters, under their skins. I have found, as I mingled with the foreign people, and they are the people that I

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know perhaps best, that outside of the differences in language and a little difference in color and customs, we are all just the same. I go into the home of my Russian friends, and I sit down to dinner with them, a big samovar in the middle of the table, and they let me say grace, and I say grace in English and they understand it in Russian. We all understand the language of love. We don't need long years to discover people if we will just be folks with them.

We must have, then, a place where we can all get together, as we can in the schoolhouse. I wish we could do it in some church, but we haven't discovered the way to do that yet. We are divided again and again, and you can't issue any call that will bring all the different divisions together. If you do, trouble will be sure to start. We can't get together in politics, either. But we can get together in the public schools, and people have been doing this all over the nation, and I know it can be done.

I am the president of the Civic Center in my town; my first vice president is a Christian Science reader, and the second vice president is a washerwoman, and we meet and discuss all the problems of life. And I feel very proud that I have this position. I hold some positions that you might say are bigger than that, but none of which I am prouder. This is so near the common life that I am glad I am connected with it; this is a place where we can develop our common, human work, and really work out brotherhood. But perhaps we must first get back to humanhood, where we are all just God's children, where we can get so close together that these differences that have seemed so great in the past will disappear, and we can just join hands together and be workers together.

I haven't any very great message to bring to the world; only the simple message of knowing one another in the

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spirit of the true religion ; to join hands together and look in one another's eyes, and say, "My brother," no matter what the difference in state or birth may be. Really, I don't see much difference in people. I have dined with lords and ladies and with multimillionaires, and the other day I went out in the jungle and had a little Sunday afternoon visit with the fellows out there in the jungle, and they asked me to eat Mulligan with them. And I would have enjoyed eating Mulligan with the boys out there if I could have stayed, as much as I did, when I was over in Europe, dining with those high in authority. I found as I talked with these boys that there was a great longing for something that they didn't have; first of all, perhaps, for a job. They were not tramps or hoboës, but they were trying to find a place in the world, and some of them were getting bitter. But some of them had a philosophy and saw farther than that, and saw beyond to a time where these conditions would be no more. They were looking for that time when we should all be workers together for the common good, and some of those high up have not yet had that vision, for they think that their positions must not be jeopardized; they are willing to make the world better, but they believe it must come from above. But all the great reforms will come from people and work up.

We are to-day in a changing time; the old conditions cannot go on much longer. I am an optimist. I have seen the very worst of life; I know the worst of all the large cities, and yet I am very hopeful. But if you should persuade me that we must live on and on as we have been during these last years—oh, but you can't persuade me of it. I know we are going to come out into something like what Christ meant when he spoke of the kingdom of

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God on earth, and the greatest part that man can do now, is to do his part toward helping on that time.

I have been a worker in the social settlement and the institutional church for over thirty years. I have talked with many workers at home and abroad, and this is the message that I bring: That in the next ten years the activities of the social settlement and the institutional church will have passed over to the public, to the city, the State, and the Nation. There will be left, on the part of the settlement, the inspirational element, that is to say, it will consist of an educated, refined family or group who wish to be helpful and join with the neighbors, and who seek out the difficult sections of the city; who will settle near a schoolhouse and who will simply be neighbors and help to organize with the neighbors the clubs and classes and other helpful things, through the public school, instead of building new buildings.

The institutional church is passing. I have given my life to clubs and gymnasiums, and all the rest of the things that make up the institutional church, but I have been working toward the time when everything of that sort would be done in a larger way through the public. There will remain the inspirational church, not the institutional church.

Some one has asked me, "Will there be more preachers or fewer when that time comes?" I said, "There may be fewer, but the quality will be higher." A man who succeeds in the church that is to be must be a man who has had a wonderful and deep spiritual experience and who has entered into this great spiritual awakening that is going on all over the world, following the social awakening. For I fully believe that the deep spiritual power, the living with the Divine and recognizing his power in our lives—the recognition of the imminent God—it is

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this that is coming, and the minister who realizes this will be able to draw the people together and inspire the young men and women for the work that is to be done in the days to come.

So we have to-day this wonderful bill, not raising money to build great buildings, for the buildings are built for us; we have got the wonderful buildings; and they are wonderful; and the buildings which are to be built are still more wonderful. We are just building in Los Angeles a new school building, and soon there will be twenty-seven new auditoriums in the school buildings of Los Angeles, where the people can hold any kind of meeting they want, dealing with morals or esthetics or politics or anything that is for the good of the people. Perhaps we haven't all understood this, and as a city planner, I want to bring it to your attention to keep the thought in the minds of the city planners to-day regarding the city centers. The new type of city is not like New York, for instance, built up solidly with tenement houses and apartment houses, but a city limited, say, to a five-mile limit, and then with satellite cities all about, connected by rapid transit. That is the ideal now, so that in these satellite cities growing up all about in the metropolitan district, there will be an opportunity for the finest kind of life this country has ever seen. There will be a civic center in every one of these little cities. There will be several things brought together in a group; the school, of course, and I hope the newer idea of the one-story, fire-proof schoolhouse will obtain. There will be the gymnasium, the public baths, and the voting booths. I hope to see the time when we will do away with the idea of the precinct and make the school district the political unit, so that the schoolhouse may become the political center of

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that unit and therefore of the State. There will be club rooms of all kinds; there will be the play ground and the park around about that.

Don't you see what this is going to mean in the days to come? The people have been broken up before, separated from one another. They have had the saloon and the brothel, but now the time has come when they are going to find something better than that. People are not naturally bad. Perhaps that is not good theology; but from my experience, and I know the worst, I know people from the under side; I say people are not naturally bad. There are some badly born, a few must be shut away from society, but with the great mass of men, if you give them a chance, they will be good. As I think back to the town where I was reared, I remember that when I was twenty-one years of age, I had never seen a saloon. I don't know of a single boy that grew up with me that ever took to drink. But if there had been saloons existing in these communities in Maine and Iowa, where I lived, I couldn't have said that. There would have been a certain proportion that would surely have gone to drunkards' graves. They were average people, but the opportunity for good was there rather than the opportunity for bad, and so they chose the good. So I am in dead earnest about making it easy for people to be good, and putting before them the opportunity for the largest life.

We have, then, this new idea of what the schoolhouse is to be. Some of my church friends say, "Aren't you losing a tremendous opportunity for the church, when you give up the work of the institutional church?" It may be, in a narrow sense, I am; possibly in the institutional church I might have, at the end of the year, if I kept all these activities in the church building, a few

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more in the church. But when I think of the larger spiritual opportunity before the right kind of people, I want to give everybody this chance.

I remember once I had a bunch of fellows who were going to be splendid men ; but there came into our neighborhood anti-social forces, a prize-fighting pavilion and a race track. Within three months I lost every one of those boys ; I have never been able to get one of them back. Some of them are noted prize fighters now. But all the money and strength I had put into my work seemed lost because the State allowed race tracks and fighting.

The church ought to do this civic center work, as a sample of what can be done, until the people are educated ; but when the city or State is ready to do it on a still larger scale, then we should get behind that movement.

So we are going to get together in the public school-houses, and I have four purposes for which the public schools should be used.

In the first place, the public schoolhouse and its grounds makes possible the development of a leisure time program in every city. Eight hours of work, eight hours of sleep, and eight hours of leisure for every one, and if you will tell me how a boy or a man uses these eight hours of leisure, I will tell you what his character is. The time has come to organize the leisure time of the community. If we do not, there are those who will, who are seeking to make money out of this desire for play and recreation. They have been doing this, and have cursed every community. It is for just such men and women as we are here to organize the leisure time program of our communities, and let it center in the schoolhouse or the playground. Let it center first, if you will, in the church itself, but in some way organize this program, recognize the fact that people must play. That is something in life

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that is necessary ; you can't expect a man to work all the time. We have reduced the hours of labor to eight, and that is as it should be ; but we must remember the other eight hours. Recreation must be as free as education.

I know this is not yet true, but the time is coming in every community. We are going to have a hall like this in every high school. Think what an opportunity there will be, if the bill goes through creating a commission for educational moving pictures, so that there may be films for use all over the State. And there are such wonderful pictures now on the market ! Then we can begin to call the people together, not only for education, but for recreation. Here in this town and in every town of any size in the State, are the organizations, musical and other ; but they are but the beginning of finer things for the future, when the finest music will be offered absolutely free to all the people, as well as the finest art ; when everything that has any uplift in it will be offered to the people.

How the people across the water do enjoy these things ! They, also, have leisure time, and their leisure time has been organized. We have not learned how to do that yet, but we are learning. We are going to have gymnasiums, baths, moving pictures, pageants, and great community days. Do you know what that means ? That is one of the new things, the celebrating of community days. The other morning at Riverside, six or seven thousand people came out before daylight and climbed the mountain to be ready for the first chord of music that was to usher in the Easter dawn. That is a great community day that is celebrated every year in Riverside.

I was in Rochester one day in the park with Charles Mulford Robinson, and he told me that the previous Sunday they had had a community day. There had been a

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hundred varieties of lilacs in bloom and sixty or seventy thousand people came out to enjoy the odor and beauty of those lilacs. He told me that they were planning for a great day in that park, through which flows a river, and that they were going to have floats and music, and that a hundred thousand people would come and enjoy all that beauty, and the pleasure of getting together in the open.

In city after city this is being done. They are saying, we must get together and enjoy life; we must feel that we are one. So this is going to be worked out through our social centers.

You will notice, in speaking of this law, that I have said that the law passed by the last legislature makes every schoolhouse a civic center. In the East, they use the word, "social center." Here we differentiate; we say that a social center is established by individuals; but the civic center is where the people make use of the school building, where they ask for the free use of the building to carry out their own ideas. You have these here and in Los Angeles. I wish the next time you go to Los Angeles you would go to the Macy School and see what is being done there. It was a dreary place in the old days, but there is no gang there now. They are all in the school building. There has not been a juvenile arrest in the last year. Miss Sterry told me the other day: "Don't publish this abroad, but there really isn't any need for me any more. It all goes on of itself naturally now; these boys don't want to be bad." And yet these same boys and girls are but the younger brothers and sisters of the old "Coyote gang" that used to vex us so. What is the difference? Simply that an opportunity has been given to them to get together under the right conditions and make better lives for themselves.

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The slum is going to go. I never speak without giving my slogan, "Los Angeles, 1920; a city of a million people and without a slum." I don't care quite so much about the million people, but I am determined to see that it is a city without a slum. We are going to close the saloon; the brothel is going. The red light abatement law is being applied. We are working at the problem of housing. In the future the great factories will no longer establish themselves in Los Angeles, but in the open country, or near the harbor, and we have there an opportunity such as a very few cities in this country have, of building a new type of city. Already a lot of people have awakened to the necessity of carrying out such a plan.

Then there are three other things for which we want to use the schoolhouses. Here is a place for adult education. We have not thought about the adults very much in the past, but now we are just beginning to think of our opportunity, and what must be done. I have been asked how many immigrants are going to come to us after the war closes? I could have told you how many we should be likely to get, before the war started, very nearly, and I should have said a hundred thousand a year coming into the port of Los Angeles. How many now? I will tell you who the first ones will be; they will be those sent for by the ones already here, whose families have been broken up in the old country. A German told me that that was his case. He said, "My two brothers are in the hospital; my brother-in-law is wounded; my uncle is on the firing line, and I have already written all my family and told them to take the first ship and come to America and I would look after them, and I know many of my friends who have done the same things."

I have just read in the paper that Canada is preparing for a great influx, believing that when the soldiers are

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dismissed, many of them, finding their families broken up and their work gone, will come to America. At any rate, we will have all that we can handle, and we must provide for them; we must open every school to them, beginning from the start with the best literature.

Then the next two things—and these two last are the most important points that I have to give you this afternoon. The schoolhouse offers the best place for citizenship education. Do you know what I mean? You will pardon me if I explain by describing local conditions, because I have been connected with them.

To-day, when any one goes to the clerk in Los Angeles and asks to take out his second papers, the clerk hands him a little card, and explains to him that he will have to be prepared for examination after three months. Then the United States will put its gumshoe men on his track; find out what his character abroad was, but meanwhile the applicant must be prepared to pass this examination. And so the clerk advises him to go down to the Los Angeles high school and study for three months. So they are going down there, fifty or sixty of them every month, to the school of citizenship under Professor Kelso, and getting instruction in government, learning about our Federal, State, and city government, and listening to lectures by prominent people every Monday night, and on Friday night there is instruction in the English language. At the end of that time, after at least ten weeks of study, they are given the certificate of which I hold a copy in my hand, and which I will read to you. This is the first certificate that was given from this school of citizenship:

LOS ANGELES EVENING HIGH SCHOOL

DEPARTMENT OF CIVIC EDUCATION OF IMMIGRANTS

This is to certify that Mike Schultz has completed
the course and passed the examination in United

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States Citizenship as approved by the Superior Court of the State of California, and the United States District Court, having jurisdiction of naturalization in Los Angeles County.

R. G. VAN CLEVE,
Principal.

C. C. KELSO,
Director.

November 17, 1914.

With that certificate, the applicant for citizenship takes his witness before either the Superior Judge or the Federal Judge, and does not have any public examination. The witness testifies as to his character, and so he is received into citizenship. If a young man or woman has gone through the high school, and studied civics and received a diploma, that is accepted in place of a public examination. If you are interested in good citizenship, take this idea to your own county. It can be applied in any county; the Federal Government has accepted it, and any school system that will give the required education can have its diploma received in that way, instead of having the applicant examined in the old way.

When the applicant has received his citizenship papers, the judge instructs him to go on the following night to the Los Angeles high school for the commencement exercises. I know of nothing finer in the State of California than these recognition services on the last Friday of every month. Here are these new-made citizens, and a great house full of people to greet them; and on the platform is one of the members of our Civic Center League acting as host. The judge calls the new citizens up, one at a time—and they have come from all the warring nations of Europe—he calls them to the platform, and gives them

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an address and extends to them the right hand of citizenship, just as formally as I have been in the habit of receiving men into the church. As a matter of fact, Judge Wood is descended from a line of Presbyterian ministers, and sometimes he makes a mistake, and calls it the right hand of fellowship instead of the right hand of citizenship. The ceremony is as solemn as the communion service in the church. It is really a sacrament, for it means an absolute transformation in the lives of these men and women who come to us in that way.

Then they join the New Citizens Civic Club, and once a year we have a great welcome feast, when all the new citizens come together with the old citizens at a dinner, and the old citizen pays a dollar for two plates, and they all sit down together around the table, and after dinner listen to the speeches. And this is a real getting together; there are no differences raised of speech or religion; they are all just folks getting together, and what it means to the man from across the water is not easy to express. Formerly there was only the saloon-keeper to welcome him with the right hand of fellowship; but to-day the finest and best of our people are there as his friends. For these people bring great things to us as well as we to them. I remember one night, just after the public reception, when we always ask them to give testimony as to why they are glad to become American citizens, one Russian said, "Until to-night I was a dummy; nobody ever asked my advice or who to vote for; but, judge, to-night you have given me a voice, and from now on I will have a voice in the government."

Another Russian said: "I came here five years ago. I worked my way through the high school and received a diploma on which I received my citizenship. I have been a year in college. In my country this could not have hap-

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pened, but here you have been so kind to the Russian ; you have given him all that you have given to the native born, and I am glad to be one of you."

This is a great, new movement that we are engaged in, and we are all glad that we have a part in it. Governor Wallace and the others responsible for the Civic Center Law put it through ; now we are forming civic centers everywhere in all the schools. If you have not civic centers in your town, if your own district school has not been organized, I wish you would get together. Here is our little constitution for the civic center, for it is a good plan to have them somewhat alike. Some organization should begin ; perhaps the Parent Teachers' Association, perhaps some other association ; somewhere there is a group in your town that will want to get together to discuss these great problems which are before the county and the State and the Nation. Here is our form of organization. Just make application to the Board of Education, and go ahead and organize and elect your officers. Then you can have your social gatherings, and so we have at last begun to see the dawn of democracy. And the dawning of democracy means the disappearance of so many of the evil things that have troubled us. The saloon is going from Los Angeles County and from all over the State, the next time we have a chance to vote on that question ; and with the saloon gone, and the schoolhouse as a meeting-place, and plenty of good recreation, and all the things that make for righteousness, we will have a better day, and it will be well worth while to live in that wonderful, new time.

CHAPTER XIX.
PROCESS AND CLIMAX IN SOCIAL PROGRESS.

BY D. M. GANDIER.

I don't know of anything that will make a city more livable than the destruction of the liquor traffic. I believe the biggest destructive element in the community is the saloon.

I was interested, as Doctor Talbot pointed us forward to the time when we are going to realize the brotherhood of man, the completer democracy, and when we destroy that which destroys manhood, we are making for democracy. You can have some forms of society with the mass of the people debauched, because the few at the top remain in control; but if democracy is to succeed, you must have the mass of the people up to standard in both intellect and moral worth; and if the mass fall below standard, democracy is doomed.

The greatest danger to democracy to-day is the demoralizing influence of alcohol. I believe when we shall have realized the victory in our fight against alcohol, that we shall have largely cleared the way for making the city beautiful and livable, and for getting the brotherhood of man on earth. I want to tell you in a few words why I believe that the victory will be ours in the next decade.

In the first place I find, as I look out over God's universe, that he works, not by a slow and endless process which goes on and on forever, always making progress and yet never finally getting to the goal. I find throughout the universe that God works by progress, plus a process; you get ready, and then you realize the fruit. You have the process, plus the climax. That is the way things work in nature. There was a century plant in my

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backyard which I watched for two years, and during that time there did not seem to be a particle of change, and for ten years it hadn't changed at all. Then in the spring of 1901 that century plant started to send up from its center a great trunk, and in six weeks it had lifted its immense blossom above the chimney tops of the house. Judged by the rate of progress during the previous years, it would have taken a century indeed to accomplish anything; but what you had in fact was sixteen years of getting ready, and then a climax, during which, in six short weeks, greater visible results were accomplished than in sixteen years before.

That is what I see going on in the world of nature, and things work that way in moral reform also. When Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe visited England, she was presented to Queen Victoria, and the queen gave her two bracelets, one engraved with the date of the emancipation of slaves in England, and one left blank, to be engraved when the slaves were emancipated in the United States. Mrs. Stowe never expected to see that second bracelet inscribed; she did not think her daughter would live to see it inscribed; but she did hope that in the providence of God, her little grandchildren might see the inscription put on that second bracelet. But so quickly did the climax come, that Mrs. Stowe herself lived a generation after the bracelet had been inscribed; twenty-five years after slavery had been abolished she was still with us.

If you look around over the world to-day and see what is actually going on, and then think about the past hundred years, I think you will admit that the climax in the fight against alcohol is ours. I look back and think what conditions were a hundred years ago, I am not surprised that it took a long process to get any results. We were bound in ignorance and prejudice. Do you know that a

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hundred years ago in New York, a Methodist conference refused to pass a resolution that a minister should not sell liquor on the side to increase his salary? That was in the year 1812. The next year they adopted the resolution in a modified form, and provided that he should not sell strong liquor; it was all right for him to sell wine and beer, but not brandy.

In the churches and colleges, and in the social life of the land it was taken for granted that liquor was a legitimate and proper beverage; only, they thought, some people abused it. To-day preachers who believe in the use of alcoholic liquor for drinking purposes are just about as scarce as hen's teeth; if you do find one, it will be hard work to find a church that wants him. The churches are sounding a united note against the liquor traffic and holding up the idea of total abstinence for the individual and of prohibition for the nation, and all the churches are falling into line.

Look at the scientific world. Only a few years ago a man was denied life insurance because he was a total abstainer. What do we find to-day? At that convention of life insurance presidents in New York City last December, one of their experts who had been figuring on the insurance tables for forty years, reported that alcohol was such an enemy to long life that if Europe were to maintain her present prohibition for ten years she would save enough able-bodied men to take the place of half a million who might fall in the present war. And this statement was made by a life insurance expert; he wasn't talking as a temperance enthusiast, but as a cold-blooded, business scientist, reporting to his employer, and he stated that the evidence of half a century had demonstrated that alcohol shortened men's lives anywhere from eight to twenty years on an average, among drinking people.

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Everybody realizes to-day that alcohol is an enemy to good health, physical, and moral. Did you notice the resolution passed last July at the convention of alienists, saying that it had been proven to the satisfaction of that convention that even the moderate use of alcohol was productive of all forms of mental deterioration? Therefore they called upon the States of this Union to put liquor where men couldn't get it for drinking purposes, and called upon the doctors to lead in a great campaign of education against the harmful effects of alcohol.

How about the industrial field? I remember when we couldn't have a logging bee without having something strong to drink, and every man helped himself. We used to serve it as a ration in our army and navy not long ago. How about to-day? Every employer of labor realizes to-day that if he wants to get the best out of his men he must keep them away from liquor. During the building of the Panama Canal the order was issued that no liquor was to be sold. Now the order has gone forth that the employees must be total abstainers.

A great corporation has issued an order that any employee who retains membership in a club where liquor is served, will be discharged. The employer realizes the value of preventing accidents, since the passage of the employers' liability act, so they have said to the men, first, that they must not drink while they are on duty; and then they said, "You must not drink while you are off duty"; and now they are going a little farther and are saying, "You can't retain your service with us and keep your membership in a club that serves liquor." For they know that if they do, they may be tempted to break the rules.

One of the biggest companies in South Chicago, which employs a great many men, last November put three big,

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electric signs over the three gates of their shops. "Did booze ever do you any good?" These were the words over one gate. Over another, "Did booze ever get you a better job?" And over the third, "Did booze ever contribute to the happiness of your family?"

What did they do that for? Were they moved by a great moral impulse to get their men to leave drink alone? Not a bit of it. They were moved by the consciousness that if their men would leave drink alone, they would earn better wages for themselves and better dividends for the company. It was a matter of cold-blooded business. The modern industrial world is against the liquor traffic.

I was stopped by the superintendent of one of the big lumber companies in Mendocino County a few days ago, and he wanted to know if I couldn't help him to get rid of the saloons in that district. I said: "What has aroused your interest? Two years ago you were absolutely indifferent; didn't care whether the saloons were closed or not." "Yes, I know," he said, "but they closed them up north of here where we have a big mill, and now we have had eighteen months of it up there, and we know the difference. We haven't had an accident up there since. The men have to go a good many miles to get liquor now. We don't have any men drunk on Sunday and going to work Monday morning unsteady. I have discovered that nearly all our accidents in this mill are on Monday, and that is because the mills are closed on Sunday and the saloons are open, and on Monday the men are unsteady, and accidents result. We have found out that it is to our advantage to have the saloons as far away as we can get them." The modern industrial world is awake to the fact that alcohol is against efficiency.

Connie Mack has recently said that moderate drinking will get a man in the long run just as certainly as exces-

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sive drinking. There is nothing that takes so many men off the diamond. So the modern world of sport is going to be very largely a world of total abstainers, not from a moral impulse, but because of the consciousness that alcohol is an enemy of efficiency.

In the world of social endeavor, we find that the great word is "prevention." When we sent our men down to Panama to build the canal, if we had sent doctors down to cure yellow fever after it developed, we would have been so busy curing the men that we would never have been able to build the canal. But we sent our sanitary engineers down there and found out how to prevent yellow fever and clean the place up, and the result was that there was no yellow fever and the Canal Zone became a health resort. Prevention is the word for us in the modern medical world and in the criminal world as well. How can we prevent crime? A boy saved is worth several boys rescued. We must prevent them from going down. Now, the biggest enemy of physical and moral health is alcohol, and if we can destroy alcohol, we shall do more to prevent disease, physical and moral, than by any other thing that we can do, and we shall throw around youth an environment such as Doctor Bartlett was telling you about. If we are to prevent crime and disease, the first thing to do is to outlaw the liquor traffic, and get absolutely rid of the whole, cursed thing, and that conviction is taking hold of men to-day, and they are going to do it.

Look in the political world. What a change! I remember going up to Sacramento to try to get a law to let the people close the saloons if they wanted to, and I was a very lonesome fellow around the halls up there. They were afraid to talk about the temperance question even in a whisper. To-day you can get about half of the mem-

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bers of the Senate to stand up on the floor and say openly that they would like a chance to vote against the whole thing.

Last spring we had nine prohibition States in this Union. To-night we have nine more. First we got Virginia, then Nevada, Colorado, Washington, and Oregon, and since the first of January, Arkansas and Alabama and Idaho and Iowa; and Utah would have done it, too, if the governor hadn't vetoed the bill after the legislature adjourned. But the first time the people get a chance they will pass it, and the governor can't veto it.

For the first time this year the question of prohibition got on to the floor of Congress. There was opposition to the prohibition resolution from the White House; President Wilson opposed it quietly but decidedly, and it was opposed by the Republican leader, and by Mr. Underwood, and yet a majority of the members of the House of Representatives in Washington voted in favor of prohibition. It takes two thirds to submit it, but a majority voted for it, even in spite of the opposition. They told us we were fools to bring it up under such conditions, and yet we got a majority. The indications are that we will get two-thirds in the very near future.

Think of the testimony that has come from Russia since that country has been on the water wagon. The Minister of Finance said that in two mining regions where thirty per cent of the men had been called to the army, the remaining seventy per cent were producing more than the whole force used to produce when they drank. Russia, without liquor, even with war, is more prosperous than Russia with liquor and at peace.

England is facing the fact that if they are to do their best in the war they must get rid of liquor. Lloyd George said, "We are fighting Germany, Austria, and liquor, and

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of these three the worst is liquor." King George has given orders that there shall be no more wine served in the royal household; the wine cellars are sealed, and the order has gone forth that there is to be no more liquor served in Kitchener's house, and all this so that it may be possible to suppress the traffic that is debauching the nation.

A social worker in England went before the National Council of the Churches and made this plea. He asked the churches to help prepare for ten thousand babies that will be born in a few months, denied a father's name; ten thousand children whose mothers are not wives, and he said to that council, "This has happened because drink has dethroned the judgment and the reason and the self-control of our soldier boys, and they have debauched our girls." Do you wonder that England is facing the question as to how she can get rid of that influence which is worse than war, the debauching influence of the liquor traffic?

When I look around and see the whole civilized world awake to the fact that this is the cause of economic inefficiency, of moral debauchery and debasement, and all working together, the moral and financial and industrial forces of the nation, to remove the cause, I am absolutely sure that God's climax is not far away, and I expect, in the next five years, to see written into the Constitution of the United States, a prohibition of the sale and manufacture of alcohol; that will mean more to civilization than did the emancipation of the slaves. I thank God that I am alive to-day, and that I have put some of my young manhood into the fight, laying the foundations of the mighty empire to be built on this Pacific Coast, and that will make possible and successful a democracy of pure manhood and womanhood.

CHAPTER XX.
THE MOVEMENT AGAINST THE SALOON AND
SOCIAL PROGRESS.

BY MATT. S. HUGHES.

When I asked Doctor Gandier this afternoon what phase of the subject he would like to have me present, he gave me a roving commission, much to my delight, and perhaps it will be much to your regret. But I think, as I speak first, that I will try to sketch in what might be called the historical background of our whole subject. There is a logic in events, as well as a logic of words; underlying the great temperance movement of to-day are two fundamental principles: One is total abstinence for the individual, and the other, legal prohibition for the State. Now, there is no necessary and vital connection between these two. Theoretically a man may be a total abstainer in the absence of a prohibitory law; and there are rumors that people sometimes indulge in the use of intoxicating liquors, even in prohibition States. But the experience of those who have been at work in the temperance campaigns indicates that these things must go hand in hand. We must have total abstinence and legal prohibition; for the drink habit supports the drink traffic, and the traffic supports the habit; and in the course of events, those who have been engaged in temperance reform have been brought to the espousal of these two principles.

But it will surprise some to learn that in the beginning the temperance reform movement was characterized by neither one of these two fundamental principles of the movement to-day.

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The honor of inaugurating the temperance reform movement belongs to the nineteenth century, and to the United States of America. It was already impending as a conflict in the closing years of the eighteenth century; but the eyes of men were holden to the vastness of its proportions.

It came in consequence of a desperate need in the early years of the American Republic, for according to history, those were years of drunkenness, and this condition had been aggravated by two circumstances; first, the laxness resulting from seven years of war, during which a great many of the influential leaders of the colonies had fallen into dangerous habits of drink, and then, as always, those who were leaders, did not lack imitators among the rank and file.

The other thing was the increased importation and manufacture of distilled spirits, which furnished a deadlier substitute for the milder fermented liquors, which, up to that time, had been the chief drinks of the people.

Drinking had the sanction of social custom. In the family, liquor was used as a cure in the case of sickness, and the same liquor was used to drink each other's health at social functions. The farmer furnished it to his field hands, and at college commencements everybody got openly drunk. Civic displays, family gatherings, all social functions, were characterized by the flow of an abundance of liquor. It had the tacit sanction of the Church. In the almost universal spirit of drinking, the habits of the clergy had not escaped. They drank before they entered their pulpits, and with the people after the services. Dr. Lyman Beecher has left on record a description of the ordination of a minister in Connecticut; and it was that experience of his which inspired that famous set of temperance sermons which had so much to

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do with the early history of the prohibition campaign in the United States of America.

If we were looking for the pioneer reformer in the temperance work in America, strange to say, we should be obliged to go to England; and history confers on the name of John Wesley, as early as 1743, that distinction, in the rules given for the United Societies of Methodists. Among those rules was one which provided that they should not drink ardent spirits or beer, nor use spirits except in cases of extreme necessity. All of that becomes exceedingly interesting, for when the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized here in 1784, that set of rules was adopted; and from the beginning, the Methodist Episcopal Church has been under a prohibitory law.

If you want to know how far John Wesley was ahead of his times, let us notice just a moment, if you please, what followed his early legislation. That rule was adopted in 1784, in the United States by the United Society of Methodists. In 1790 they proceeded to modify it, and cut out the words, "extreme necessity" and "buying and selling." A man then could be a bishop, and buy and sell liquor, and those words were never restored until 1848. In the General Conference of 1812, after it had been called up, the General Conference voted down a resolution which provided that no local preacher should maintain his ministerial character if found guilty of buying or selling liquor; and it was not until ninety years after John Wesley that the very first temperance convention was held in the United States. He was at least a hundred years ahead of those engaged in temperance reform.

The first phase of temperance reform in this country may be designated as the phase of unorganized protest; a time when men's eyes were being opened to the evils of

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drink, and some voices were being lifted against these evils. The prophet of that first dispensation was Dr. Benjamin Ross, of Philadelphia. He had received his medical education abroad and in Philadelphia; he was a patriot as well as a physician, and at this time he occupied a place of prominence among the medical men of Philadelphia. He had been a member of the Continental Congress of 1776, and was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and he had been Surgeon-General of the Medical Department of the Continental Army, and a member of the convention called in Philadelphia for the ratification of the Constitution. He was a man so outstanding that his voice would be listened to in the discussion of any public question. In 1875, he issued his famous monograph which bore the title, "The Evil Effects of Alcoholic Spirits upon the Human Mind and Body." It was the very first formulated discussion of the liquor subject by any man who might presume to speak with scientific authority. It was the leading document of the temperance movement for forty years, and he struck boldly at the twin superstition; the value of alcohol as a food, and as a medicine. But the weakness of his book was the recommendation of wine and beer as substitutes for distilled liquors. This document started no movement, but it had a great deal to do with the raising up of other men who took part in the movement in the nineteenth century.

Then followed a period of organization, and that began in the year 1808, when the first temperance society was organized. And for a quarter of a century, organizations sprang up all over the new Republic. The outstanding feature in this period of organization, however, was the coming into being of the American Temperance Society in the year 1826. In just a few years it had spread into a

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score of States; it numbered about seven thousand local societies; it had over a million members, and it materially cut down the importation and manufacture of distilled spirits.

Now, it would seem as if the movement were well under way; but will it surprise you if I say that it was not until 1836 that there was a really genuine temperance society in the United States, what we would mean to-day when we speak of a temperance society? The progress had been much more apparent than real, for the only thing that these early temperance societies had attempted to do was to do away with the use of distilled spirits, leaving the people free to use the temperance drinks, known as wine and beer and cider.

For instance, the first temperance society organized had this by-law; that no member of the society was to use whisky or gin or brandy or a composition of any of these, under penalty of a fine of twenty-five cents, except at a public dinner; and it was further provided in that by-law, that this should not interfere with the use of ardent spirits in connection with religious exercises, including weddings and christenings and installations.

Another society, organized in 1818, had this provision; that if any member of that society should be found intoxicated, he should pay a fine of two shillings, unless it was on the Fourth of July or any regular Muster Day. Those were the fanatics of that time.

As late as 1833, the leading temperance organization, the American Temperance Society, at its national convention, voted down a resolution putting that society upon the platform of total abstinence for its membership. But in 1836, teetotalism, something new under the sun that the people had been hearing about for several years, came to the front.

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The national convention of the American Temperance Society was held in Saratoga, not far from where one of the battles of the War of Independence was fought. The society, at that convention, passed the total abstainers' resolution, and it was the signal for wholesale desertions from the temperance ranks, by the hundreds and thousands temperance societies disbanded. They didn't intend to be called fanatics, and men whose voices had been heard under the old pledge, were now silent.

But at least the bankrupt temperance movement—a drunken temperance movement—had one of the fundamental principles in its possession.

Then followed what may be called the legislative period. That may be dated from the year 1838. They discovered what would be a good lesson for us to learn; they discovered that moral enthusiasm without legal machinery is never strong enough to deal with commercialized evil. You may date that new period from 1838, when a committee of the Maine legislature made a recommendation of a prohibition law to save the people from the influence of the legalized traffic. It failed to get through the legislature; you have heard of good measures since that have failed. But the people of the State of Maine took the matter up and elected a legislature that passed the bill at a succeeding session. The governor vetoed it—you have heard of that sort of thing since. But in the year 1846 they placed the first temperance law upon the statute book of a State, in the State of Maine. It was a weak law, and in 1852, under the leadership of General Neal Dow, who has been called the "Columbus of Prohibition," that law was given teeth. They added to it the search and seizure clause, as it was called, which provided that the apparatus of the business should be evidence of the business in court. And that Maine law, the original law passed in 1846,

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has been altered and strengthened, but has never been repealed.

Then the movement went on from 1846 to 1860, and there were prohibition laws in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Delaware, New York, Michigan, and other States, until seventeen States had passed prohibition laws, some of them twice. In New Jersey, the popular vote was in favor of it, but they succeeded in overcoming the popular voice in the legislature. If the movement had gone on as it started in 1846, the American saloon would have been extinct by 1865.

Have you ever stopped to ask why the movement was suddenly checked, and why, fifty years after the time when the conflict ought to have been over, we are still in the midst of it? What happened just about that time? Then came the Civil War. That period has been prolific of problems which we have been trying to solve ever since. It was a time, you remember, when they passed a war tariff, and we have been paying war tariffs ever since the Civil War, at first for the carrying on of hostilities, and later for the protection of infant industries until those great, protected industries became overgrown, and parties rose and fell as they promised the people to deal with the tariff. It was at the time when we began to pay great subsidies to railroads, and millions of acres of the people's land were handed over to them. California remained true to the Union, not so much by virtue of any vital connection with it, but rather as a matter of sentiment, and Lincoln saw the necessity, as did other leaders, of binding the two coasts together with ties of steel. Then came the land grabs and the timber scandals, and the Credit Mobilier, and Congressmen were found with that stock in their possession. It was the beginning of

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the tremendous era of graft in the United States, and much of the reform of the twentieth century has been directed against the evils which arose during the Civil War.

It was necessary to raise more revenue, and you remember that they talked of taxing liquor; and one man in Washington, a man of powerful intellect, who knew what that meant—Lincoln—when the bill was laid before him, declared that he would rather lose his right arm than sign it. But finally, with the promise of the liquor traffic that it should be repealed after the war, he did sign it. That promise has never been fulfilled by the liquor interests. The liquor interests stayed at home during the war and fattened their purses at the expense of the people. It is a significant thing that the United States Brewers' Association dates from the year 1862; while we were in the midst of the Civil War, they were at home, fixing up their fences. And the first "patriotic" action of that association—and I hope you will remember it next year—was to make a fight against a tax of a dollar a barrel on beer for the purpose of war revenue, and they succeeded in getting it reduced to sixty cents.

When the smoke lifted from the battlefields and the soldiers came home, out of all these States that had prohibited the liquor traffic, one only remained true, and that was the State of Maine. All the ground was lost during that time. War means something more than a few battlefields and a few men killed. We shall be paying for that war, and dealing with the problems of that war when we march, as a people, into the twenty-first century. It gave the whisky traffic its great opportunity, and it was quick to seize it.

When the enemies of liquor came home, like General Dow, they were for jumping in at once to recover their

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lost territory. Then sounded the voice of the whisky politician; we had just been through a great conflict; we were now in a period of reconstruction, and no patriotic citizen would introduce any irritating question at this time. And so they waited through 1866, and the people were drunk, and through 1867, and the people were drunker, and through 1868, and the people were drunker still; and in 1869 they called a prohibition convention in the city of Chicago and launched the Third Party prohibition movement. I am not a Third Party prohibitionist; there are some of us who believe that the final triumph will not come through any one party; but I pause here to say this, that if there is any set of men in the United States who deserve our honor, it is that little handful who have been true to their convictions for nearly two generations, and who have been ready, at every election, to walk up and lose their votes, and run for office, when they knew that they didn't have a ghost of a chance. It is the only political party that has paid its own bills instead of passing the hat around among the interests, with the understanding that it was to be repaid later by legislation at the expense of the people. There has never been a time since 1869 when the Americans went to the polls at a general election, that they haven't had that question kept before them; and when we come to the hour of victory, no little credit will belong to that faithful band who have kept the question alive all these discouraging years.

Since that time we have moved out into a still larger field. We began with the fight against the saloons in the municipalities. Then the idea expanded to the State, and now it has been enlarged to the idea of national prohibition. We have had a heavy task on our hands since we undertook to recover the lost ground, for during the time that the patriots were at the front, the liquor interests

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were at home, massing their forces, digging their entrenchments and making their alliances. The first thing they did was to divide the country into factions. Whenever you get a moral question, it always divides the people into factions. In this case, one was the drinking and the other the non-drinking faction.

The second thing was the development of the American saloon. In the beginning liquor was sold at the grocery store; but there was no particular place for it as we have now. But then followed the evolution of our typical American saloon, a place dedicated simply to the sale of liquor. It developed the long, stand-up bar and the free lunch with its highly-spiced food, and also it developed the back door and the side door.

It also formed alliances with various businesses. We have come to a time when no man stands before an intelligent audience in the United States of America and tries to defend the American saloon as an institution that is essential to the welfare of any community; but the saloon relies upon its alliances. It allies itself with the corrupt politician who is always ready to sacrifice the people for power; with industries, such as wine grape growing and hop growing; with the trades that they patronize, such as harness makers and coopers. You know, in the last campaign in this State, if you wanted to find a saloon-keeper, you always found him out hiding behind a green grape vine or a hop pole. They have a way of pushing these allied interests out to the front and making them stand the brunt of the attack. And so you find the press filled with stories of what is going to happen to certain industries if the people close the saloons. Here in California, it is the grape growers who bear the brunt of it. Their attorneys have wept copious tears over what would happen to our citizens; they said there were hundreds of

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industrious people who have put their savings into these industries. But there is no industry or allied industry that has any right beyond what is represented by the license of the saloon-keeper or the brewer. No man can demand a license as a right; he can ask for it, but the people have a right to refuse. What does a man get when he gets a liquor license? He gets a permit to sell intoxicating liquors for twelve months, and when that time is up, he has had everything that he has paid for, and if he wants to continue the business he must get another license.

In the last forty years the men who have planted grape vineyards in the State of California have gambled on the continued moral obtuseness of the citizenship of California; and every single wine grape vineyard is an insult to the people of the State.

Sympathy with them? Yes; the same sympathy that I have with any other tin-horn gambler who gambles and loses. They are no better than the saloon-keepers. No man who is willing to make a part of his living out of the saloon business is any better than the man who makes the whole of it out of the business.

They sent me a little pamphlet from the Brewers' Protective Association. I said at the time, it ought never to have been printed on a modern printing press; it ought to have been made in the sign language of the primitive savage of the stone age. One of the vine growers from this part of the State wrote and said, "If you vote prohibition this coming November, I shall have no way of disposing of my packing house culls and my weather spoiled grapes, from which at the present time I derive quite a little income." The old aborigine.

He called upon us to rally to the polls and save his packing house culls and his weather spoiled grapes. What did he care about the saloon culls and liquor spoiled

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homes? Not a thing. That was the sort of argument that was used here in the State of California to pile up a majority on behalf of the liquor traffic as we now have it in our commonwealth. And the result was that with organization, with the accumulation of millions of profits, and with immigration—for the saloon business of this country has been tremendously helped by immigration, they stayed, for the time, the tide against the saloon. Between the years 1840 and 1860, the Germans alone came to the number of over three million, and with their coming the manufacture of beer became one of the great industries of America. And all this was helped by the new methods of doing business; the trust method, and so on. And that is what we have been up against.

The American people have never yet had conscience enough to deal with a great moral question as it should be dealt with, simply because it is right. Let me repeat; I say you can't show me an instance in the history of the United States where the American people have done right simply because it is right. Do you think of any particular instance? I made that statement once, and somebody piped up, "We abolished slavery, didn't we?" Every time that we dealt with that subject we juggled and temporized with it. We began in the old colonial days; Madison was the chief juggler. We juggled again at the Constitutional Convention. Those men knew that we were dealing with an evil, and I am glad that some of the greatest speeches against the institution of slavery were made in that convention, and were made by representatives from the South. But that document had to be a compromise, and it wasn't even a brand new compromise. Five negroes were to be counted as three white men for purposes of representation. They added as an amendment the stoppage of the African slave trade in twenty

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years. They were, no doubt, jubilant over that; but you can never settle any question definitely and finally until it is settled right. It wasn't very long before the old ghost was walking again. Then came 1820, and Henry Clay, and the Missouri Compromise. There was to be no slavery north of the thirty-sixth degree, except in the State of Missouri. Clay had his eye on the Presidential chair, and probably they had another jubilation. But you never settle any question until you settle it right.

Then what happened? The ghost still walked; the trouble became more acute. Then came the year 1854, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and squatter sovereignty; what we would call local option on the subject of slavery in the new territory of Kansas and Nebraska. The bill passed, and they thought they had settled it again by that compromise. Every time we dealt with that question, we compromised and juggled.

Then came the shock of civil war; the greatest conflict that up to that time this blood-stained planet of ours had ever known. And the great question at the beginning of that war was whether we should save the Union, and even Lincoln said he would save the Union with slavery if he could, without it if he must. Then, as a war necessity, he issued the Emancipation Proclamation; as a war measure, to cripple the South. If it had not been for the war, we would have had slavery in this country just as black and as damnable as ever. I judge by the way people deal with other evils like the saloon. You know that there were whole regiments on the point of deserting when the Emancipation Proclamation was issued; they said they had enlisted to save the Union, not to save the niggers.

Let us not forget history. Anybody would think, the way we talk now, that we had had a great revival in Washington then, but nothing of that sort happened. We

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were fighting for our lives, and we were ready to throw over anything.

Then somebody said to me once, "We went down and helped Cuba, didn't we?" Didn't we? Cuba lay within seventy miles of our southern boundary all the years of our national existence; there was hardly a breeze that blew over that beautiful island that didn't bring a call for help; and we did nothing. Once in a while some patriot would say something in behalf of Cuba, but nothing came of it. It was recommended that we buy Cuba, but we did nothing. Once in a while our yellow press would send a reporter down, and print heart-rending tales of distress; but we did nothing. How did we ever come to do anything? It was the question of the *Maine*. Do you remember the beautiful, Christian cry that went up from one end of the United States to the other—"Remember the Maine"? It was a yell of elemental hate, not the conscience of the American people.

Now, my friends, the closing chapter remains to be written. It will be the story of the final overthrow of the liquor traffic in this American Republic, and the final triumph of the forces that to-day are against it. It will not be the work of a single individual, like the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation; but it will be the work of the sovereign people of the nation at the ballot box, who will declare that such a traffic shall not be permitted by law, but shall be prohibited by law; and in these days, when State after State falls into the prohibition column, headed by gallant, little Maine; when even Congress begins to hear the voice of the American people and has given a majority in favor of a prohibition measure, and when every outlook is bright and the news from every conflict brings new hope to the people, we begin to believe that we stand in the dawn of a prohibition day.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

BY MRS. BRIDELLE C. H. WASHBURN.

I am sure that in this age of woman's activity, no one will question woman's place in social progress. I have been asked to speak especially for the organization that I represent, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union; the mission which it fulfills as well as its place in social progress.

It has been more than forty years since a strange spirit fell upon the women of our land, a spirit of uprising and going forth, and simultaneously it fell upon the women of some half-dozen different States at once. Those women, without any preconceived thought or action, went out against an established custom in this land; an established business, if you please, the organized liquor traffic. These women were unorganized and unrecognized officially, politically, or even in our churches; but because of the baptism of the heavenly spirit, as wonderful in many of its results as the baptism which fell upon the disciples in the day of Pentecost, these women, after going before God and asking his leadership, went against the established liquor business of this nation. Their work in the beginning was simply a reformatory one. They sought to lift up men and boys who had already gone down under drink. But they found to their consternation that while they were getting one man lifted up, a hundred men were being dragged down; and they found out that the antagonism of the liquor men themselves was great, even against this work of reform. This movement was called

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the Woman's Crusade, and women went forth and pleaded with men engaged in this business to quit the business, and upon their knees in the saloons of the country, lifted up their voices to God for the destruction of this tremendous evil. Their power was great, and their prayer was heard, many of the saloons were closed, hundreds of towns and cities closed their saloons and hundreds of men and boys were lifted up. Then the saloon men rallied, and said, "What have we been doing, letting a little handful of preaching, fanatical women rob us of a legal industry?" And they threw open the saloon doors, and boasted that they could drag down and destroy all that had been done by the praying women.

So then the women had learned their first hard lesson; that organized evil can never be met except with organized opposition, and so the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was organized; and since that time, that little handful has grown to be a vast and mighty army, more than three hundred thousand strong in our own land, well organized, well disciplined, well led, and with more than forty different departments of work. It reaches out into every avenue of reform, and there is no vice to-day preying upon the home or the social or national life that has not long since been interfered with by this tremendously powerful organization of the Christian women of America.

We found that it was not enough to reform people while the destroyer was uncontrolled. We first tried to get hold of educational organizations, to get hold of the youth and the children; but we were so untaught ourselves that progress was slow. Then Mary H. Hunt, of Boston, stood before a great audience—and she was a well-known educationalist and splendid philanthropist of that city—and she said, "I will tell you what we must do;

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we must champion the teaching of scientific temperance truths in our public schools, where our twenty million children shall be taught the fundamental truths regarding the effects of alcohol on the human system." When she said that, many, even among the friends of reform, said, "You cannot do it"; but she said, "It shall be done."

That became the work of our national organization, and as a result of that work, in every State of the Union and in all the territories, scientific temperance instruction has been taught in our public schools for more than twenty years, and many of the educators and reformers of both Europe and America have said that had the Woman's Christian Temperance Union accomplished nothing else but the placing of this teaching in the public schools, it would have done more than had ever been done before. This paved the way for the final abolition of the liquor traffic.

We found that our girls and boys were unprotected by law. We found conditions that we had never dreamed of in our legislatures, and laws upon our statute books that we had never dreamed were there. Neither had the good men of this country. Do you know that the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of California was the first organization that made a systematic effort for the protection of the girls of California? Do you know that when our State organization sent their legislative representative to Sacramento, they found that there was no protection for the girl in the State of California after she had reached the age of ten years? When we found that out, our women really thought that all they had to do was to present the matter before the legislature and it would be righted at once. But they had to fight every step of the way. Public sentiment was against them. There was fear and alarm among the members of the legislature, and

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the women had to work year after year to have the age of consent raised, first to twelve years, then to fourteen, then to sixteen, and then to eighteen.

We found, too, that compromise with the liquor traffic always meant failure. We learned by careful investigation all over the United States and in every nation, that the higher we raised the liquor license, the greater the traffic. We found that the whole license system was wrong in theory and wrong in practice. Why, you know that women are not called very good financiers; they are not expected to use very much judgment regarding these matters. But, friends, they soon learned this one thing; that if you tax a man five hundred dollars for the privilege of selling strong drink for one year, he is duty bound to sell five hundred dollars more drink than he would have to sell if you didn't tax him a cent. We soon found that high licenses increased consumption because of the increased effort to sell and induce consumption.

So we began to work, not for a compromise with the liquor traffic, but for the total abolition of it. This is to be brought about by permeating society everywhere, getting into our public schools, our churches, into individual lives, into home life, and to that end we have worked persistently and patiently and well.

The result has been the co-operation of all good men and women everywhere in securing the best laws for the protection of our homes and our children and the advancement of every needed reform measure.

The work was a wonderful development for womanhood itself. I believe that the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, an organization composed entirely of women, has done more to develop the womanhood of our land than all things else put together. Woman was brought face to face, in that organization, with the fact

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that she had a personal responsibility to God and an equally personal responsibility to her fellow man. She found herself; and so in this organization women went to work. At the beginning of our work there was only one State in the Union that had a prohibitory law, and that was stalwart, old Maine away on the northeastern coast. We had hardly heard of its law or of its working; the people were unfamiliar with it. Nine-tenths of the people didn't know there was such a law. Then began the agitation which has resulted, as you know, in the total abolition of the sale of liquor in eighteen States of this Union, and there are five more that are to consider the question again later on. So you see that there are eighteen that have already voted for it, and five more which are to vote in 1915 and 1916. You see the wonderful progress that has been made against the liquor traffic, and not only against the liquor traffic, but against all its attendant vices and evils.

As Doctor Gandier has told you, we soon learned that a large per cent of the crime committed in this country is due to the liquor traffic. We soon learned that the jails and penitentiaries and poor-houses are being crowded to overflowing because of the curse and blight of the liquor traffic. I want to say right here that the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, from its very inception, has always stood against compromise with the liquor traffic. As our late national president, Mrs. Stephens, said, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is anti-saloon, and not only that, but anti-brewery and anti-distillery, and anti-the whole liquor business; and that is what the Woman's Christian Temperance Union has stood for from the very inception, and it still stands for the same principles.

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When, as an organization, we have tried to obtain legislation which we have desired, we have never been discouraged by apparent defeat. We were persistent in our efforts until we gained the very thing that we desired. Never once in the history of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union has it ever temporized or compromised with the thing that we know to be absolutely wrong.

The leaders in this reform were called visionary. Do you know, my friends, never has a reform been accomplished in this world that some man or woman wasn't a man or woman of vision—not visionary, but men and women of vision. And they have proved themselves to be the most practical men and women in the world. So we have stood for high ideals in social progress and reform all these years.

Now, friends, we, here in the State of California, and I mean especially the women of California, what are we standing for in the State of California? I believe that the women of California, as well as of the other States in the Union, stand for social progress. I believe that woman is the natural conservator of human life, and whenever any evil confronts the home as a destroyer, woman's influence is against that evil, whatever it may be. In all history, when men have gone out to war and have slain each other in battle, woman has gone to care for the wounded, and has brought spices to embalm the dead. She has always been the conservator of human life. Woman has always stood against that which detracts from the efficiency of the boy or girl; womanhood has always stood against that which detracts from the safety of the home, and so the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and good women everywhere stand against the legalized liquor traffic and all its attendant evils.

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I want to say just a word for one of the latest compilations on this question, a compendium of temperance truth incorporating the teaching that is being given in the public schools of our land. I want to say something about the use of alcohol in moderation. We find that the main defense of the liquor traffic is made on this basis. The following is from the *Saturday Evening Post*:

"The following incident recently occurred in New York City when Mr. George Perkins, of the New York Life Insurance Company, was giving a dinner to the directors of the big New York life insurance companies, and when the proprietor of the hotel handed to him the menu for his approval, he crossed out all liquors, including all wines. A protest was made against this omission, and this is what he replied: 'We discriminate against the use of these by our policy holders; it is but fair that we should abide by our own rule.'"

You know that very recently liquors have been declared against by the heads of the royal families in Europe. We know that King George has declared against the use of intoxicating liquors, including wine and beer, and that he himself has become a total abstainer, and uses neither wine nor beer. We know that Kaiser Wilhelm has declared against the use of intoxicating liquor, and no longer permits it to be served in the royal household; and this includes wine and beer. If wine is a harmless and safe temperance drink, why did these men, with their great power and influence, declare against their use?

I have a great deal of evidence in regard to the moderate use of the lighter intoxicating liquors and their effects, not only upon the human system, but upon crime and inebriacy. I could give you the names of authorities on this subject had I the time, men well known in the scientific world, who declare that the continual use of

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these milder liquors is really of greater damage to the human race than the spasmodic use of the stronger spirits, for the reason that their continuous use brings about a sort of deterioration of the human system, and creates a like deterioration of the moral forces, and they are, therefore, dangerous.

I want to refer for just a moment to the connection between drink and crime. Lord Kitchener said that in India, with a diminution of drinking, the number of court martials was reduced, and that in India, in 1907, there had not been a single court martial of a total abstainer. In the British postal service there are more than thirty-one thousand men. They are men who must be keen and alert, and no man with his brains befogged by any amount of alcohol can remain in the service. In 1907-8-9, the number of dismissals for intemperance was thirty-six per cent of the total number of dismissals.

What do the prisons reveal? The late Colonel McHardin, chairman of the Prison Commission, said that he did not know of anything that could take the place of strong drink as a crime-producer. Sixty per cent of the long-sentence criminals had been drinking before the commission of the crime, and were somewhat affected by it at the time the crime was committed. One investigation showed that something like seventy-six per cent of the criminals had been more or less under the influence of alcohol at the time that they committed the crimes for which they were imprisoned.

I might go on and on, but what is the use? We all know the connection between the liquor traffic and the courts. We all know, through the systematic and determined investigation of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, that the tax-payers of this country are being burdened by taxes caused by the tremendous amount of

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crime and pauperism produced by the awful curse of drink.

I must close, though I might go on much longer. I hope you all understand what our organization stands for. It has grown in influence and effectiveness from a little handful of unrecognized women to a mighty power. There is not a single State legislature that has not long since felt the weight of the hand of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. I wish, when you get to the fair grounds over here, that you would visit our national exhibit, in the Educational Building, and you will find on exhibit there some of the facts which we have discovered as the result of these long years of study. And you will find there one of the most unique exhibits on the exposition ground, a petition written by Frances E. Willard years ago and circulated in every civilized country in the world, with the signatures of millions. There is about a mile and a half of canvas required to record these names, and you will see the different rolls of this canvas from each nation. And this petition asks every government in the world to abolish the liquor traffic. The interest aroused by that petition has never ceased, from that day to this. I hope that you will go and look at that unique exhibit that our national organization has so kindly sent to the exposition.

I might, indeed, well take much of the afternoon, and should have been obliged to do so had I prepared half of what might be said as to the place of woman in social progress. I have only touched upon the effect of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union on social progress, and I hope that you will all remember that this organization, composed of the consecrated womanhood of this nation, stands against everything that threatens the home, that threatens your children; it stands against

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everything that threatens your public schools and the morals of the people in general; and we stand ready to co-operate with all good men and women of all organizations or any organization for the overthrow of the liquor traffic and its attendant evils, and for every reform for the betterment of the human race and the advancement of social progress.

CHAPTER XXII.
SIDE LIGHTS ON THE MOVEMENT AGAINST
THE SALOON.

BY GUY WADSWORTH.

I want to tell you about a little trip that I made to Utah in the interest of prohibition. I was invited to go into the State during the latter part of February, to help in the campaign. The legislature had determined to pass a statutory prohibition bill. I spoke in a dozen or more different towns in Utah, in two or three Mormon tabernacles, was in one place introduced by a Mormon, spoke in many Mormon churches, and I was fully convinced that the rank and file of the voters in Utah were in favor of State-wide prohibition. I was present at a meeting of the legislature. The senate had already voted, and the assembly considered the bill the day I was there, and I heard a very interesting and illuminating debate. They tried, as they generally do, to kill the bill, to make it ridiculous by all kinds of amendments; but the temperance people were able to vote all the amendments down. I was impressed by the amendment one man offered, which dealt with the subject of compensating the liquor dealers of the State. He read a very well drawn up amendment and argued on that side of the question; but when he had finished, one of the members rose and said, "Mr. Speaker, I believe there are some good things in that bill, but I think I can change it to make it better still." He moved, as an amendment, that right after a certain word in the original amendment, these words should be added, "That whenever the liquor dealers should have com-

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pensated the widows and the insane and the paupers and the other unfortunates who had suffered through the liquor business," then he was in favor of compensating the liquor men. The result of that amendment was that when the original amendment to compensate was put to a vote, I don't think even the man who had proposed it, voted for it; not a sound did I hear. But every one apparently voted, No. So all the amendments were voted down, and finally, about six o'clock at night, they passed the bill, forty to five. It looked very much like prohibition in Utah. Then, two days later, the senate concurred a little amendment having been made, by a vote of sixteen to two. So unless my mathematics are crooked, it was an eight-to-one vote both in the senate and in the assembly, and people felt joyful all over the State. The very day that this bill passed the assembly, Governor Alexander of Idaho had signed the bill for prohibition in that State, so apparently everything was looking fine.

The governor had agreed to consider the question, and give his decision in plenty of time; but you remember what he did. He waited until it was too late for the legislature to pass the bill over his veto, and then vetoed it; and he did a worse thing still. The people had depended upon the statutory prohibition as a temporary makeshift. They had an initiative and referendum bill to enable them to initiate a constitutional prohibition amendment for the State of Utah. The governor knew about that, and about the last thing he did was to veto the initiative and referendum bill, which would have enabled them to initiate a constitutional prohibition amendment for the State of Utah. He said that he had received all the honors from the State of Utah he expected, and that hereafter he was going to devote his attention to other things.

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I think he probably will, for the people in Utah are very indignant.

Now, as to Idaho; you see, I have forty-eight States to talk about, so I can go on for a considerable time, if necessary. The history of the movement in Idaho is very interesting. You remember that the thirtieth day of last June the Democratic party, and the Progressive and Republican parties in Idaho, all three, vied with one another to see which would be the quickest to get a prohibition plank in the platform; and they all voted it in. So when the legislature met this winter, they passed an enabling act, so that they can vote on constitutional prohibition in Idaho, in 1916. But the victory in Washington and Oregon, both of which States border on Idaho, gave the Idaho people the idea that it would be best for them to pass a statutory prohibition bill which would go into effect, January 1, 1916, in order that when prohibition went into effect that day in Washington and Oregon, Idaho should not immediately become the dumping-ground for those States. So that is what they did, and the very day that I was in the assembly in Utah, Governor Alexander signed the bill which caused Idaho to become a prohibition State by statute.

There are people all over the country, who, if they were asked how many prohibition States there are, would make a wild guess. I was making a speech in the Sunday school at Long Beach, and I asked the people in the Sunday school to tell me how many States in the Union had voted dry, and the superintendent said, nine. I had to let him down easy, but I had to tell him before I got through, that he was a little out of date; that since September 22, ten States had voted dry, and in every case the law will go into effect, except in Utah. In Utah the people are just simply mad, in the American sense of that word;

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but it is only a matter of two years. They are absolutely helpless at present; they can't get an election until after November 1, 1916. But I want to ask you people to watch when Utah votes the next time.

I am planning to leave to-morrow night for Oregon and Washington, to learn as many lessons as I can up there for our next campaign in California. Surely California can't afford to be behind Oregon and Washington in its power to attract the finest people of America. When the entire Pacific Coast is dry, where, under the shining sun, will you find anything like these three Pacific Coast States?

CHAPTER XXIII.
THE TRIUMPH OF THE "DRY," AND SOCIAL
PROGRESS.

BY A. J. WALLACE.

I arrived in California on a certain Friday night, and on the following Sunday evening spoke at a union meeting for the W. C. T. U., so I began life in California very fairly. I thought then that the W. C. T. U. was an organization that would not only accomplish a great deal, but that it was on a firm foundation and was building for permanency; but in these later days I find that there are influences digging at the very foundation of that organization and planning its overthrow, for I see nothing for the W. C. T. U. to do in California after things have moved as rapidly for the next two or three years as they have in the last six months. For when the liquor business is overthrown, what on earth is that organization going to do? As I told Mrs. Washburn, her organization was doomed to overthrow; but she insisted that there would be some good things to do even then.

A long time ago on the banks of the Red River a few of us were living, and my brother and I were conducting a store. We put up a building and got a man to advance a sum to run the business, and a little while after we were established, somebody wanted to bring a saloon in. And I tried to convince that little community, going out among the farms and getting up a petition, that a saloon shouldn't be allowed. When the man who provided the funds to stock our store learned what I was doing, he said to me in a very gracious and nice way, "Now, Mr. Wal-

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lace, of course that business is right in your hands, and you will have to be the judge of what you do; but I would like to suggest to you that in business it is a good thing to let liquor matters alone." He took the position that so many men have taken ever since, that it isn't good policy to interfere with the liquor business if you want to succeed in your own business.

I remember in that little town the next year we were all gathered in our little schoolhouse, and the predominant question was that of liquor. If you have ever lived in a small neighborhood, you know how it is; how wonderfully intense you can get. We forgot all the rest of the world, and never in a big city have I seen such excitement as in that little schoolhouse. I remember that a big man, white with anger, invited me to go outside. I didn't go; I stayed right there in that institution of public instruction. He was bigger than I, and it was really a cold winter's day; besides, he had three or four brothers right there who had come originally from the lumber camps, and I kept on staying where I was.

But things changed by and by. North Dakota got the notion that liquor didn't help, and I remember sending back a contribution—a small one—to help make the fight against liquor. And about a year ago, in the absence of the governor, it came to me to welcome the representatives of North Dakota at the time that they selected the site for their State building at the Panama-Pacific Exposition. I listened with unusual interest to what these representatives had to say, because they came from my old home State, and one of them said, "North Dakota has the highest standing for pro rata wealth of any State in the Union." He didn't say that North Dakota was the wealthiest State; but he did say that the average of wealth in that State, that had been without liquor for a long time,

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was the greatest of any State in the Union ; and I rejoiced in that fact. I remember in the very early days that one of the first things we did was to build a court house and jail, and we were all taxed for it. Do you know I heard lately that there is nobody to occupy that jail and court-house that we helped to build. You can tell what the reason is. Mr. Gandier told you of a county in this State of which one-eighth was wet, and that wet part contributed six times as many prisoners to the county jail as all the rest of the county. That is the way it was with this county in North Dakota.

I wish I could sing a pæan of triumph for the things that have been accomplished in these last few months and years in this cause for which we stand. At the beginning of things there was old Neal Dow in Maine ; and if that old man could have lived a little longer on this earth, how triumphant his closing days would have been.

I don't know how soon we are going to have our final triumph ; I am no prophet. But I am almost taken off my feet in these late months by the way things are going. It took a long time to win two or three States ; but what has happened since ? Why, last fall all over this country we had campaigns. As usual, we were told we were foolish. What happened ? Why, five States went dry in November. Then we rested a little, and before we knew it, the legislatures were in session in January, and it appeared that not only by the vote of the people, but by legislative action the same thing could be done. And in a very short time in 1915, five more States, through their legislatures, went dry, and the governors of four of them signed the bill. One of the governors thought he could stay the wheels of progress, but he will fail as absolutely as did King Canute, and we will make Utah dry.

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I am wondering how these men feel who have always sneered at our forces and told us that we were fanatics; that we ought to wear skirts, and didn't belong among real men. I wonder what they thought a few months ago when the question came up in Washington, and a majority—not two-thirds, but still a majority—of the members of Congress cast their vote in favor of submitting to the people of this country the question of national prohibition.

That means not local, but national prohibition for this great country of ours; and every distiller and every brewer and every saloon man and Royal Arch man in the whole country knew when he read that vote that he had come pretty near the end of his rope, and that some day there would be a two-thirds majority and the question would go to the people, and that will mean the end of the liquor business all over the country.

I am not going to make a speech; but only rejoice with you in things done, and take comfort and courage in starting afresh to do the things that remain to be done. I can't understand some things. The progress is such that it is really exciting. I don't know what they are going to do in Europe. I am sure that old England will be doomed if beer and stout and ale no longer give strength to her population! What on earth can England do without beer, after a thousand years? It would seem to be an impossibility. My father taught me not to swear; but I believe to-day he would let me say, "By George, England's going dry," when he saw Lloyd George and King George coming out against liquor.

Lloyd George said, on March 2, that liquor was doing more to destroy the English population than all the German submarines in existence. He lived twenty-nine days longer, and then he spoke again, and he said, "England

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has three great foes: Germany, Austria, and liquor, and the greatest of these is liquor." I believe in God; I believe he cares for his people. He never sleeps nor forgets any man or any nation; and standing as a finite human in awe and amazement at the horrors of Europe, I am unable to comprehend or see any right at all, as I think of what is going on there; but there have come gleams of light from somewhere in these later days, and I am wondering if the Almighty, hopeless and almost despairing of his children, is allowing the destroying armies to ravage the country in order to teach them that there is a greater evil than war, and that is liquor; and teach them that they must give up their dependence on liquor and crush the liquor business and so, out of the horrors of this bloody warfare may come this reformation of the liquor traffic, this overcoming of things evil, and the freeing of the various peoples of the whole world.

Think of Russia, half-civilized Russia! Have you ever pondered the Russian serf, and read about him? You know what a poor, narrow life he lives. Go and hear the woman who spoke in this building yesterday, Mary Antin; let her tell her story of Russian life. Think of what you have read and what you know, and remember that in that cold region live men of narrowed lives and restricted outlook, and in their ignorance they have naturally depended upon vodka, and vodka has made them stupid and befogged and dull. What has happened? You couldn't have dreamed it in your wildest dreams; it wouldn't have occurred to you that it could have been accomplished in a century; yet in the last six months they tell us that the use of liquor has been forbidden in Russia. It seems impossible, yet from governmental reports, from the report of the Minister of Finance of Russia, we are told that already Russia is tremendously the gainer. The Minister

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of Finance reports that they have lost two hundred and thirty-five million dollars by giving up this liquor traffic; but he goes on to say that the real gain is great; the advance in the people is marvelous; that there are benefits is apparent on every hand.

A writer in one of our trade organs has said just recently that he had had a conversation with a banker from Russia, and this banker was interested in the coal mines, and his companies lost sixty per cent of their men to the army; then they employed other men until they had fifty per cent of their former force; but the use of liquor was stopped; it was given up entirely, and the result was that with only fifty per cent of their normal number of employees they were doing forty per cent more work than they ever did before.

The women of the W. C. T. U., and men like Doctor Gandier and others have gone all through the country trying to stop the drink business, not wholly from a moral viewpoint, nor even from a commercial and business standpoint, but because drink is destroying the manhood of our men and destroying the women, and making men and women by the million inefficient; and then here comes this instance of the greater efficiency in the men, the great material gain, simply because they have given up liquor drinking, and have thus become more skillful and industrious.

We know what the evil effect of drinking is upon the American; but we never drank quite as the Russians did. Yet out of the war, in just these few months, has come this great redemption for Russia.

You know what France has done. An actor once said that if the United States went dry, half the population would move away and go to France, where they could have freedom. Now, there isn't very much freedom of

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that kind even in France. I am afraid that poor actor will have to stay in the United States even after we do go dry.

All these great men in England, Kitchener, and Lloyd George, and the king, have given orders that no liquor of any kind is to be used in their houses during the war. After the war is over, will they go back to the good, old times? What could they say for themselves if they did? They can't do it. King George has given orders that no wine is to be used in his household during the war. King George would stand pilloried before the people of the world if, after the war, he should go back to the drink habit in his household. He dare not do it. He comes of too good a stock; he is the grandson of too fine a woman to do such a thing.

I heard Lloyd George talk in the House of Commons three or four years ago, and I want to tell you that for years I had spoken of him before audiences as one of the two or three biggest men in the world, because of what I knew of what he was doing for humanity. I heard him talk on his insurance bill, when they were all trying to pull it to pieces, and he explained that bill as simply and clearly as though they had been school children; and it was so plain, that only those who were determined to take the other view could think otherwise than as he thought. That is the kind of man, the biggest man in the country, who is trying to get King George and Kitchener to agree to actual prohibition in the British Empire. It is a great day for the world when such a man is in power in such a country.

Saskatchewan has ordered the bars closed, and in Canada the Parliament meets in a little while, and the question is going to come up before them when they meet; and knowing, as I do, how loyal they are to the British

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Empire, I believe they will readily adopt in Canada the principles adopted across the sea.

Some years ago, when I was in England, I went to a great Handel festival in the Crystal Palace. There was a magnificent chorus of four thousand voices and five hundred instruments. I have never heard anything like it. They gave us "Judas Maccabæus"; and the music, representing his triumphant return, after the overthrow of his enemies, rang out magnificently. And I am here to say to you to-day that it is time for us to get out the musical instruments, and raise our voices, and we will sing together a song of triumph, such as Miriam sang, when the Royal Arch people of that day, who wanted to enslave the Israelites, were overthrown—and that was a cold-water victory even on that occasion. We will sing, and they will hear our song all over the world. We will shout from the peaks of the Sierras to the watchers on the tallest pines of old Maine, and a score of interior States will catch the melody, and mountain and sea shall give volume and resonance to the song, and the heavens and the earth shall unite in the chorus of old "Jehovah has triumphed; his people are free."

CHAPTER XXIV.
FAIR LEGISLATION AND THE LIQUOR
TRAFFIC.

BY D. M. GANDIER.

There are one or two things to which my attention has been called lately, to which I would like to call your attention. I don't know when I have heard so much talk about the necessity of being fair in legislation against the liquor traffic as I have heard in the last four months, particularly the last three months. I believe that all legislation should be fair. I have, however, no particular interest about being fair to the saloon. I don't know that the word "fair" has any application except to people. We ought to be fair to the saloon-keeper, but we ought also to be fair to all the people of the State. And when we think of this question of what legislation is fair and what is not fair, we have got to be careful if we don't get our thinking mixed. I would like to think of the saloon, in its relation to the democracy, in order that I may know what legislation is right and what not.

We have what we call a local option law. I don't like the word "local option," because I have never believed in local option in the usual sense of that word. I am a thorough democrat. I believe in the right of every individual and community to govern itself in all things that do not hurt the larger community. Democracy means that the worth of every individual is recognized and that we are not going to interfere with personal liberty except when it is necessary to maintain the higher civil liberty. I have a right to do as I please so far as government is con-

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cerned, if what I please does not hurt any one else. But the moment what I please to do hurts you, your rights must be considered as well as mine, and then my personal liberty yields to the higher civil liberty, and I am willing that government should come in and say, "You shall so live together that you shall not hurt one another."

So my personal liberty must always be limited to the things that don't hurt other people. I think the same thing is true of every little village. I think our government ought to permit every little community to govern itself absolutely in those things that don't hurt the community round about. If it wants to have a baseball ground, I don't think the State ought to interfere, so long as they use it properly. We should not compel them or prevent them. That is a local affair; it doesn't hurt the rest of the county. I believe the community should have a right to do as it pleases in all things that do not hurt the larger territory. The moment that a community wants to do something that hurts the territory round about, the sovereign power of the State has a right to step in and say, "No, you must be limited there." That seems to me to be the A B C of democracy. That is the basis for the government of our State of California; our cities are allowed to govern themselves in things that are local, and so are our counties; but the State holds the power over all of saying that in questions that affect the State, the State shall decide.

I want you to apply that principle to the saloon question, and I will start by asking a question. Will anybody claim that closing the saloon in one town hurts the rest of the county? It is almost universally admitted to-day that the saloon is a nuisance; some of us think more and some less, but everybody admits that it is a nuisance or may become so. Even the Royal Arch admits that and

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advocates regulation. If we talked about regulating our grocery stores as they say the saloons ought to be regulated, we should have a revolution. I submit, then, that shutting the saloon out of one community doesn't hurt the larger territory. They haven't any saloons in Palo Alto, and there are lots of them in San Jose in the same county. Does closing the saloons in Palo Alto hurt San Jose? I never heard anybody suggest such a thing. It is almost unanimously admitted that closing the saloons in Palo Alto didn't hurt the rest of the county. I submit, therefore, that Palo Alto has a right to close her saloons and keep them so, and that it would be an outrage if the rest of the county should step in and force the saloons back into Palo Alto. Since closing them didn't hurt the rest of the county, Palo Alto has a right to that measure of self-government.

Did keeping the saloons in San Jose hurt Palo Alto? Some people may say, No. I think I can prove the contrary. I can prove this; that the people in Palo Alto are paying taxes to support the saloons of San Jose. I don't think we have many intelligent citizens to-day who deny that the saloon furnishes a large proportion of the inmates for the county jail and county almshouse and county prison. In the first two years after this came about, one-eighth of the population that was wet kept six times as many people in the county jail as the part that was dry. Who paid for that, the one-eighth? No, the whole county was taxed to feed the prisoners and support the almshouse. San Jose has ninety odd saloons, and they are furnishing men to the county jail and county hospital and county almshouse. The county is the unit of taxation, and the whole county is helping to pay the bill. The whole county, therefore, has a right to have a

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voice in saying whether or not these saloons shall stay there.

Let me follow that up a little farther. San Jose is the county seat. That makes it the social center, the commercial center, the educational center, and the legal center. If you have ninety-six saloons in the legal, commercial, social, and educational center of the county, doesn't that affect all the county? The people in the country are sending their young people to school there; men are coming in with their teams to do business, and the men and women of the whole county go there. I submit that the people in the rest of the county have just about as much interest in the saloons in San Jose as the people in San Jose have. They are affected to a very large extent, and are injured by them. Therefore the people in the county as a whole ought to have a voice if they wish. But you can't reverse that, because putting the saloons out of Palo Alto didn't hurt the rest of the county; but keeping the saloons in San Jose did hurt the rest of the county. That is why the saloon should go, because the saloon is a hurtful and harmful institution—that is why the law should not work the same both ways. And when we have had a law that will let the people close the saloons in Palo Alto, and then we ask for a larger law to enable the people to close them in San Jose, it would be an outrage if we did not put in a clause saying that nobody shall force the saloons to reopen in Palo Alto. The community has a right to local self-government only in those things that do not hurt the larger territory. That is a fundamental proposition. If we keep that clearly before us, we will realize that the smallest community has a right to close its saloons, no matter what the rest of the State does. Any district that wants to, ought to have that right. On the other hand, if the whole county wants prohibition, no lit-

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the community has a right to have saloons against the will of the county; and if the whole State wants prohibition, no city, not even San Francisco, would have a right to have saloons against the will of the sovereign people of the State.

This will help you when you meet a lot of people who are mixed on this subject. It is for this reason that I stand on the right of local prohibition; and I insist that no sovereign power has a right to force a nuisance upon any part of the territory, if that part doesn't want the nuisance. As a matter of common justice and decency, it is an outrage to force a nuisance on any community that doesn't want it. Therefore, we have a right to demand that every unit shall be given the right to get rid of its saloons, and we are not in favor of a law that would reverse that position. I believe that in standing on that basis we are not only logical, but that we are adhering to the fundamental principles of sound democracy; and if we will keep our thinking clear, we will realize that in order to be fair to the people, we cannot treat the saloon in the same way as a schoolhouse or a grocery store, or any other helpful institution. We are dealing with a thing which is harmful, and it hasn't the same rights in the courts of justice and to fair play as legitimate business has.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE TESTIMONY OF SCIENCE AS TO ALCOHOL AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

BY DAVID STARR JORDAN

After this eloquent discourse of my friend, Mr. Hughes, I have to give you a cold-blooded account of alcohol as seen by the light of science. You know that alcohol is a substance that doesn't exist in nature, but is made by the decomposition of sugar, and the sugar will not be decomposed unless there are minute organisms in it that tear it all to pieces, and under these circumstances, carbonic acid gas and alcohol are formed.

There was a great deal said not long ago of the discovery of a professor in a Methodist college that alcohol was food up to a quarter of a teaspoonful, with water; but that is not of much value to the person who drinks alcohol for the kick it gives, for all the rest is a poison. And it is a sham. That is, it gives feelings that don't correspond with the actual facts. The fundamental effect of alcohol is to teach the nervous system to lie, and after it once gets to bringing false messages to the brain, both the nervous system and the brain get to be liars, and that habit grows on them.

Alcohol that is left over after you have digested a quarter of a teaspoonful, is a poison. One of the greatest scientists of our time said that if alcohol were a newly-discovered drug from a German laboratory, every civilized nation would prohibit its use as it has already prohibited the far more valuable drug, cocaine, more valuable and less dangerous. People do acquire the cocaine

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habit, but mostly people who had the alcohol habit before. There is far less likelihood of acquiring the cocaine habit than there is the alcohol habit.

Of course, alcohol injures the liver, producing a peculiar condition of the liver; but I will not describe that. It has been called a "hob-nailed liver"; that is, the different cells become swollen and modified and hard. It also affects the kidneys. The kidneys are to carry off poison, but they get drunk on alcohol, and this tends to bring on a disease of the kidneys. But these are relatively minor things.

One of the things that has lately been discovered by Metschnikoff, the great Russian physicist, is that we have in the human body little blood cells—not the red ones, but others—that act as living guardians, and go around in the blood, and when they find any little organisms there, they kill them and devour them. They are police to keep out intruders; the germs of tuberculosis, or pneumonia that are present in the air all the winter long; and sometimes when there is a congested place, pneumonia comes on. A cold doesn't generally result in pneumonia or consumption, but it gives a congested surface for the germs to grow, and these phagocytes, as they are called, should be on hand. "Devourers of cells" is the meaning of the word in Greek. They devour the germs of these diseases, and a great many of these disease germs are devoured in this way. We are constantly exposed to tuberculosis, but in most cases the phagocytes get in their work and destroy the germs. In the same way we are often exposed to measles, or whooping cough, or small pox; there are many of these infectious diseases; they may be carried by foul air or water, or carried by mosquitoes or flies. Typhus is carried by lice, which infest every army. Mexico is full of typhoid fever because

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Mexico is full of lice and bed bugs, because they are having war and haven't time to attend to these things.

The phagocytes are busy destroying these things, and we should be very grateful. Alcohol paralyzes them; they are paralyzed by it and don't do their work. So when you invite your friend to drink, you should say to him, "Come, let us paralyze all our phagocytes." So long as the influence of liquor lasts, a person is more likely to be infected by some disease.

A very late discovery that is due to Professor Saleeby of Cornell, shows that alcohol is what they call a race poison. That is, every human being was originally the product of two germ cells mingled together, the germ cells from the father and the mother, and these unite, bringing together the hereditary material from both sides, and the little embryo grows. Alcohol paralyzes these cells also, and people who drink moderately or extravagantly—all drink is immoderate, it is better not to drink any of it—for people who drink are likely to have these germ cells paralyzed, and sometimes ruined, and this, of course, brings about sterility; the embryo doesn't grow. Sometimes distortion or a defective nervous system results, and there are a great many epileptics and feeble-minded produced because these germ cells were injured but not destroyed. A large amount of sterility comes from the use of alcohol, and by experimenting with smaller animals they have found that by a sufficient amount of alcohol, they can damage nearly all of the germ cells. Just as a young animal that is fed alcohol becomes stupid and doesn't grow, so it is with the germ cells themselves, for they are in intimate connection with the nervous system. So we speak of a race poison, slow developing and terrible. It is like syphilis, because it can be passed from one generation to another until it

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runs out. This new count against alcohol is a very serious one.

The damage done by alcohol is in proportion to the amount used. Beer has less alcohol than the distilled liquors, where the alcohol is brought out separately from the water. They have a very much higher percentage, and so do a good many of the patent medicines. Peruna and Mrs. Pinkham's Compound, and a variety of others, have their effect, whatever it may be, because they contain alcohol. The other ingredients are largely put in for coloring. In fact, nearly all these advertised cures for nervous and other difficulties, belong to one or the other of two classes: Either they are sugar and water, very harmless and very expensive, or else they are made of whisky and some coloring matter. A great many good men, including some of the Methodist ministers ordained in the earlier days you have heard about just now, thought these bitters would do them a great deal of good where whisky would do them harm. But you can always drink water, and if that doesn't suit, you can use White Rock water, which sparkles like champagne.

Drunkenness is merely the effort of nature to throw off this poison. There are many varieties of drunkenness; the joyous kind, like the man who was seen with his head in an ash barrel, singing a song, although even the dogs knew that he wasn't happy, though he insisted that he was. Then there is the grouchy drunk and the emetic drunk and the savage drunk and the stupid drunk, and then there is the drunk who imagines that he is more witty than he ever was before. But it is all drunkenness, and the more one drinks, the longer one continues this sort of thing, the more he fails to throw it off, and the nervous system grows weaker and weaker until he can drink a good deal without throwing it off. But that

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doesn't show that he is really not injured by it. It wouldn't be an evidence of sensitiveness or health if a man should burn his finger so many times that at last he could no longer feel it.

The principal evil effect is, of course, on the nerves. You know what delicate machinery we have in the brain; it is the finest thing ever put together in the way of machinery; millions of parts all joined together in such marvelous fashion as to give us the greatest wonder that we know of in the universe, the wonder of human consciousness, through which we know something of God's world about us; and the minute this machinery stops working, a man doesn't really exist any longer, for when the brain is gone, everything is gone, and when the brain is injured, the man is injured. Alcohol injures the brain, all of it except what is used for food, and that is nearly all of it, the alcohol itself, the undigested part, the part that can't be handled in the stomach. The brain is connected with the outside world by a series of nerves that carry impressions from the eye or the ear or the fingers, and from them the brain sends out its orders to the different organs.

The story is told of a man who came into his office one morning and said, "Well, the world looks different to a man who has had a good drink of brandy and soda in the morning"; and one of the clerks said, "Yes, and he looks different to the world." When a man drinks, the brain doesn't know how to look at the world, it is confused and doesn't give the proper orders. A man tries to take both sides of the street. The fact is that alcohol confuses the brain and leads the nervous system to tell what is not true.

Now, this condition leaves its mark, and the more you take, the more you want, until a man is uncomfortable

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without it. Like tobacco, it first creates a disagreeable impression and leaves the nervous system irritated. Just as when a mosquito bites you, it is a pleasure to scratch it; but the more you scratch it, the more you have to. The man who lies back in his chair and enjoys a smoke feels no better than the ordinary man feels all the time. He is simply scratching the mosquito bite.

We speak of liquor as a stimulant. It is not, in any proper sense. It is a nerve depressant. It acts upon the nerves to reduce their action as well as to confuse it. It isn't properly a stimulant, but it acts first on the highest qualities of the nerve and brain; it loosens those restraints and reserves that we build up, what we call character; those things that prevent us from being a common nuisance because you do everything you might do. Those go first, and then the ordinary, cheaper qualities of a man come to the surface. One of my German friends has urged that it has great value to give a loosening up. That means simply that the reserves that we build up are weakened, and it lets loose anything of which we think. So the individual seems to be stimulated; he is simply turned loose; he doesn't care what he says or does. We could, any of us, be quite a nuisance if we dropped our ordinary restraint and dignity.

When we take a hen or turkey and put it on the block and cut off its head, the animal shows greater activity than it ever did before. There is a loosening up of all restraint; the head is gone, and the nerves operate on the different muscles and the chicken flies around. I have heard women say, when they were excited, that they acted like a hen with its head cut off. It is a loosening of all restraints, and it is also accompanied by a false exaltation; you think you are feeling better. Coffee does the same thing, only to a lesser degree. Beer and wine teach

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the nervous system to lie, and just to the extent that you feel exalted, you feel depressed afterward. You have that dark-brown taste in the morning, which is just as natural an effect as the exaltation. With the continued use of alcohol, the exaltation grows less and less and the depression greater.

This is the scientific side, as related to man. It has another relation, and that is to society. It is part of our democratic system to give every man just as much freedom as he can use without injury to others. We don't dictate what time men shall go to bed; we let them do as they please. We want to give all the freedom that we can. But there is a boundary to that kind of freedom, and that is the boundary of injury to others. Our count against liquor from the social point of view is that it is unsanitary, dangerous to the community. Drunken men are dangerous. You remember that at the time of the earthquake, General Funston closed all the saloons, and there was no crime for nearly three months. Then they were opened, and there was a murder every night. They weren't cured during that time; they left town, and when the town was open again they came back. If you can arrange to have people of this sort leave towns enough, by and by they will cease to want to be saturates. There is practically no crime in a region where no liquor is sold.

I have heard a great deal of criticism of Maine by people who have found liquor there. I have been in Maine a good deal in the interest of my work on the boundary. I have been, for instance, in St. Croix, up the river, when along late in the evening, evil-looking creatures would come out of the ground and offer to show you where liquor is sold. But I have seen in many cities there, boys growing up who have never seen the inside of a saloon; who know it only as a far-off thing. It is a tremendous

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thing to make the sale of liquor illegal, even though you have blind pigs on every street. There is a difference between its being illegal, and its being backed by the law; and I say with a great deal of positiveness that Maine is a sober State. There are many saturates left; in the summer time it is over run by people who carry bottles of liquor from Boston and New York and even more barbarous districts; but the great body of the people in Maine are not connected with this; and, what is most important of all, there is growing up a body of young men and women who do not know anything of the influence connected with the saloon. And that is true also of Kansas, and of Alabama. In the town of Montgomery, I was impressed by the change from what it was ten or fifteen years ago. Some thirty years ago I met a young fellow there who told me, as a great curiosity, that there was a man in Crab Orchard who never drank whisky; and now that county has gone dry, and the whole South has undergone an amazing change of heart.

That was a fine touch in Mr. Hughes' address where he showed the relation of liquor and war. Every reformer knows how the evil influences entrench themselves, as they are doing in Europe to-day. In Russia, there has come some advantage; they have no freedom, and the Czar can reach out and stop the liquor traffic. The only time I was ever in Russia was on this side, and I wanted to see one of the seal rookeries there. The Russians were in doubt whether to permit it, and they poured out vodka and drank over it, and while they were thus engaged, I went over to the rookery and saw all of it before it had been decided whether I had permission to do so. So I was interested in the habits of Russia at that time; and their habit was to be drunk after four o'clock.

Now, England is going dry. England has been cursed

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more than this country by the liquor traffic, partly because it is legalized here only for a year at a time; but in England a man can sell liquor unless there is some reason why he shouldn't; and when he gets a license, it is legalized and goes on with the place. You know the House of Lords is sometimes spoken of as the Beerage of England, because so many of them are brewers who have paid from sixty to ninety thousand dollars, and have thus become members of the House of Lords.

One of the great reasons why the saloon should be abolished in the name of sanitation is its connection with the Red Light District. Among the appurtenances of nearly every saloon is some house of ill fame. An army surgeon made a statement in regard to one of our army posts, that the soldiers very rarely go to a house of prostitution when they are sober, and very rarely when they are drunk; but when they have had a glass or two of beer, they go. Then they are ruined, for sooner or later those who visit these places become infected with an almost incurable disease. One is caused by a parasitic animal that gets into the blood; and the other, not so severe, but harder to cure, is a little plant organism; and this is one of the greatest scourges of womankind, because so many surgical cases are caused by it. Sterility is also caused by this infection. We have a moral right and duty, all the right a free country can give, to attack a thing that brings about such conditions.

Mills once said, "Small efforts can never attack great evils." They do not have small effects; they have no effect at all. To eradicate this evil we must go at it, not by small efforts, but with a determination to get out of our society any profit from the sale of alcohol.

CHAPTER XXVI.

VOTES FOR WOMEN AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

BY MRS. GERBERLING.

As I belong to San Francisco and am a native daughter, I naturally hesitate very much about making a suffrage speech here in California, where we have already got suffrage and the struggle is behind us, so that now nothing bores an audience more than suffrage. We suffragists are out of a job, and besides, it takes all our time to keep up with our municipal campaign and all the political activities that we have undertaken, and so we haven't time to talk about suffrage, except as it may help the other States of the Union.

The Congressional Union was formed for the purpose of holding this administration, or any administration, responsible for not bringing forward the amendment giving women in this country the suffrage. We do not attack this administration particularly; we should attack any administration for the same reason; but they are responsible for not submitting the Susan B. Anthony amendment. This amendment started in 1875, and has had a rather difficult career ever since. It is not the same as the Mondell amendment, which is for the purpose of submitting the matter to the different States.

It seems to me that the only right thing to do is to get a Federal amendment; if this Federal amendment could only go through, thirty-six States would be enfranchised at once. We already have eleven; we have the solid West, and I defy any one to point out any important instance where the suffrage has not been a success. I can say most decidedly that we have found it an unqualified success here. (Applause.)

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We found out a great many things after having this suffrage given to us; we found, for instance, that in many cases we had been wasting our time over charities. We used to tell a story about a woman who came into her kitchen and found the water all turned on and overflowing the sink onto the floor, and the maid busy wiping up the water. When she had turned off the water, she asked the maid, "Why didn't you turn off that water?" And the maid answered, "I couldn't, because I was so busy mopping up; I didn't have time."

We found that in a great many cases we had been just like that maid. Florence Kelley, the well-known social worker, said to me, "I wish I had taken up this question of suffrage sixteen years ago." Jane Addams, too, has come out in favor of suffrage; almost all our great women have come to it, and we feel sure that these women are on the right track.

The constitution now provides that color, race, or previous condition of servitude shall be no bar to the right of suffrage; we want to add to these words the word, "sex." Sex has nothing to do with voting. I don't like the idea of sex entering into any question of merit. That is one great thing that this exposition has accomplished; there is no women's building. The work of the woman painter is in the Fine Arts Building; it is a matter of the merit of the painting, not a matter of sex. As one of the previous speakers has said, this is a transition age; we no longer respect a man who simply piles up money. Dr. Felix Adler said once that to see a man devote his life to making millions of bricks was not an inspiring sight. When a man really wishes to do fine work, he makes bricks enough to build a workshop, then he goes on to his real work. It has come to be a matter for rebuke when a man devotes himself to the one object of piling up

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money and nothing else. We must have higher standards in our social life, and by giving women the vote, we give into the hands of a class of the community which has remained outside of this commercialism, the power to combat it. The problem of commercialized vice is one of the questions that we have to settle. We already have our Red Light Abatement Bill, I am thankful to say. I believe the women will bring to these problems a sort of housekeeping instinct that a man lacks. It comes natural for women to do municipal housekeeping.

This sixty-third Congress has passed a good deal of legislation, there has been a war tax, and banking legislation, and they nearly passed a Federal ship purchasing bill; but practically all the legislation that has passed successfully has been concerned with commercial things. Congress has failed to pass the measures dealing with child labor, the protection of women, conservation, and such bills. You will notice that the preference has been given to protecting the rights of property and business, not to the protection of human life.

These women of the Congressional Union feel that the question of suffrage should come before this Congress; that it should not be snowed under by business and prejudice. It seems to me that every man and woman ought to work for this amendment and do what they can to help. Ask your Senators and Congressmen how they stand on this question. If it is possible to convert them, well and good; if they are influenced by selfish motives, it is best to make them come out and show where they stand. Every one can help in this way; if thousands of letters are sent it will do great good, and I appeal to you to help in every manner that you can in this great movement for the enfranchisement of women.

CHAPTER XXVII.
TAXATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

BY A. J. WALLACE

I have the driest subject in the world to bring before you this afternoon; the most persistent, and also one of the liveliest—Taxes. There are two problems presenting themselves all the time; one is the ever-increasing tax rate, and the other, the ever-increasing wealth of certain residents of our States and cities. I want to touch upon them both, and make the menace of great wealth and the burden of great taxation bear a relation to each other that shall prove helpful in the solution of some problems. I am not going to suggest any plan by which the expenses of government will be less than they now are. I am only going to suggest that the taxes might, to some degree, be raised by another method. We shall have taxes as long as we have our ideals. This is the day of costly living, isn't it? Yes. We want the telephone. We like candles, but we would rather have kerosene, and still rather have gas than either, and we have a still more decided preference for electricity. Once I had an ox cart; then I secured a lumber wagon, and then I had a buggy and now I have an automobile, and there is a difference in the cost. The same condition prevails in public matters. We will have schoolhouses that outrank the university buildings of twenty years ago. We will have automobiles; and automobiles mean good roads at an outlay of millions of dollars. But we are going to have them, and they are going to cost, and we are going to pay the bills. How are we going to do it?

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On the other hand, we have wealth in our country greater than you think we have. We have more millionaires than you dream, unless you have looked it up. There are men here whose hair is turning white who can remember as well as I can the time when you could count on the fingers of one hand all the millionaires whose names you had ever heard. Now we have men who are not merely millionaires, but multi-millionaires. We have in our land to-day men whose wealth is nearer the billion mark than the million, though we can't understand what that means.

Do you realize that we have men in our country—individuals—so rich that it would have made a kingdom wealthy in the old time? Do you know that there are men whose annual income is greater than the annual income of the government was under George Washington? Whose wealth is so great that their annual income is equal to the annual, regular expenditure of the government of this State? We have wealth so great, accumulated in the last fifteen years mainly, that that wealth is a menace to-day, or, if not to-day, it only needs to increase in the next half-score years as it has in the last and everybody will admit that it is a menace, while in the hands of a few.

Do you question it? Let me tell you something. Beyond all that we knew before, we have learned something in the last year. The Federal Government at last has an income tax, which is something very different from an inheritance tax. The income tax has revealed some things. In these United States forty-four men, men who have tried to push down as low as they dare the statement of the total amount of their income—forty-four men under oath have declared that their annual income is over a million dollars apiece. You don't grasp it; you almost.

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thought I said they were worth a million dollars apiece; but their *annual income*, sworn to under oath, is a million or more apiece, and there are ninety-one men, each of whose income is over half a million. This is a revelation made only recently, under this Federal law.

In one district in the State of New York, twenty-six men, under the income tax, pay \$2,800,000. In other words, they pay over a hundred thousand dollars apiece of income tax. That is to say, after they have paid all other kinds of taxes, on property which they possess, they then pay an average of a hundred thousand dollars apiece as income tax.

The simple fact is this: that the income tax revealed the very great wealth of a large number of our people in figures that we can hardly understand.

If you think that is not a menace, you must remember that the wealth of two or three of our men put together would aggregate an amount that in the past could change the form of government of almost any country in the world. Only a few years ago Russia allowed the persecution of the Jews in her territory, and most cruel and bitter was the suffering. A little later Russia and Japan were at war, and Japan needed money. A Jewish firm of bankers, the Rothschilds, financed Japan throughout the war, so that she triumphed over Russia. Don't you think those Hebrew bankers rejoiced in their power to punish the persecutors of their race?

I only want to call your attention to the fact that one banking firm was big enough to change, potentially, the relative positions of two of the greatest nations in the world. One firm had strength enough to make Japan triumphant over Russia. There is a menace in wealth such as that, and if we don't know it to-day, we will know it later unless something is done; unless some law is

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passed that shall mean that no man shall be allowed to inherit more than a specified amount.

The inheritance tax law is an old law. Rome had it, and Egypt had it before Rome. England gets over a hundred million a year out of it. France and Germany get sixty or seventy million; and nowhere has it developed more interest in its workings than in New Zealand and Australia. America has had it for nearly a hundred years. In Pennsylvania first, and to-day in over twenty States there is an inheritance tax law; but as yet our people understand it very little. You are probably more ignorant of it than you ought to be, and probably you don't realize how significant it is.

California has had an inheritance tax law for a number of years. We have averaged three hundred and sixty thousand dollars a year from that source for fifteen years, ending in 1912. Never did we get a million prior to 1910. In 1911 I took the matter up with men in the legislature, and they were much interested, and I found that the excellent auditor of the State, Mr. Nye, was unwilling to have the law changed; but at last he did agree to some changes. Prior to that we began at ten thousand dollars exemption, and then taxed at the rate of a half of one per cent on the estate, and graded the tax up from that to three per cent on five hundred thousand dollars. I said that it was very unfair to tax a widow on her second ten thousand. When everything is so costly the State has no business to touch so small an amount; and I asked that we exempt twenty-five thousand dollars. The legislature did exempt twenty-four thousand dollars, and since 1911 we have exempted that amount. So you may take comfort; if you have only twenty-four thousand dollars of assets, and your death should occur, your family will not pay one dollar, and if you have ninety-six thousand

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dollars of assets, and you leave a widow and three minor children and a will that divides the property equally among the four, no one of them will pay one dollar of inheritance tax. That, of course, cuts off some revenue; but in 1911 we changed so that instead of grading up to three per cent, we advanced to five per cent; and we promptly got in more income with that slight change, even though we lost on the small estates. One estate settled in San Francisco under the new law, gave us \$250,000 towards the funds of the State, and under the old three per cent it would have been only \$126,000.

I was very much dissatisfied with the law as passed in 1911. I wanted it to grade up to five per cent on five hundred thousand dollars, and then, instead of stopping, have the tax graduated a bit higher up. I could not see why the graduation theory should not continue in the higher figures and the tax rate on an estate of a million should not be higher than on half a million, and on fifty million more than on five million. We have at least two concerns in California that have assets in the neighborhood of a hundred million each, one belongs to a man ninety years of age, a foreigner, and the other to a non-resident. We have wealth here that we have not thought of, and we have wronged our people that California has not gotten, under our laws, a larger proportion of that wealth; that when such men die we do not get a due proportion of these assets for the people of this State.

I would like to call your attention to the fact that in 1913 it became very much easier to get a change in the law than in 1911, for already there had been some evidences of the beneficial working of the 1911 law, and quite easily we got the legislature to advance the rate so that now it is five per cent on five hundred thousand dollars; seven and one-half per cent between five hundred

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thousand dollars and a half a million, and ten per cent on all over a million. Now that is going to have results from this time on. That law came into effect on the thirteenth day of August, 1913; and the sixteenth day of August, three days later, there died a man in southern California worth nearly ten millions. You didn't know we had so rich a man? He probably made his wealth north of us, but for reasons I would not dare to suggest, he lived south of Tehachapi.

We have got, in the last few weeks, \$480,000 out of that estate, and we would have got much less if the man had died one week earlier, because the new law taking seven and one-half per cent would not have worked. He had a very large family, and the property was divided between the children, and I think no one of them came quite up to the million; and yet we got practically a half-million dollars to reduce the taxes of the people of the State, or prevent larger taxation, which would otherwise have been necessary.

I want you to like that law and believe in it. You can all exercise an influence and see that this law has a large working out, and when it has, then our taxes will be very materially reduced all over the State.

I want to give you an illustration or two of how things have worked. We have had a good many cases where we have rejoiced over the amounts of money that we have secured under the inheritance tax law in the past. A while ago two hundred thousand dollars were needed for a certain public building, but the funds were low, and every one rejoiced when they remembered that we were going to get two hundred and fifty thousand dollars out of a certain estate; and we did get it. Out of the Baldwin property we expected to get two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, but we did get three hundred and thirty

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thousand dollars out of that estate, and the administrator, a few weeks ago, reported his distribution and winding up of the estate, in which he had distributed thirty-six million dollars from the Baldwin estate to the heirs. And we, the people of California, got three hundred and thirty thousand dollars, and we were mean-spirited enough to glory in the fact that we got that much. At the time of E. J. Baldwin's death, the estate was appraised at ten million dollars. It did grow in value after that, though it was presumably worth more than the value fixed at that time. Remember that we, the people of the State, got only three hundred and thirty thousand dollars, and ask yourselves who made that ten million dollars? That is the question I want to ask. The State must do right. The State, just because it has the power, dare not push out its hand and grab unworthily. It must do right; but it must do right by the people of the State as well as do right by the heirs of great wealth.

Who made the Baldwin ten million dollars? Baldwin acquired many acres just out of Pasadena, at a few cents an acre, decades ago. He had acquired thirty-two hundred acres close to Los Angeles for a song on a mortgage long ago. That thirty-two hundred acre property was sold a year ago for six million dollars. What did Baldwin do with those acres? Improve them; make them valuable by the dollars he put into them? No. I went out to see the ranches the other day, and there was the same old rusty barn that was there decades ago. I don't think you can find five thousand dollars worth of improvements on the place. And the other big property, I remember a cottage and a few pretty little things; but there was practically nothing done on either property. And those were among his main assets.

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Now, then, who made the value that centered in those ranches? Baldwin didn't make it. If Baldwin had acquired the same number of acres down in one of the South American republics where there was no stable government, what would the value of that property have been? Practically nothing. But because we have a stable government, a civilized community, good laws, and because God has given us this rich soil and glorious sunshine, there is value here; and mainly because a million people from all over the world liked this country of ours and came and settled around these two great ranches of Baldwin's; because they built homes and blocks of stores in town all around his property, it came to have great value. We the people of the State, made that ten million dollars, or at any rate, nine-tenths of it; made the value that is in the Baldwin property, and we were false to the people of the State when we accepted only three hundred and thirty thousand dollars, and turned over nine and two-thirds millions to people who didn't make it at all. (Applause.)

In Los Angeles, the estate of a woman was administered a few years ago worth a million and a half, and California got thirty-five thousand dollars. She didn't make that valuable property; the population made it. Robinson Crusoe lived on an island that was undoubtedly rich in soil and productive, and had great inherent value; but you never heard of an advance in real estate on his island, not even when Friday came. But if a hundred thousand people had come to Crusoe's island, then there would have been great value in it. Folks make value. Every child in New York adds to the value of real estate in New York. So in Los Angeles, every new comer, and every child born adds to the value of real estate. If you took two hundred and fifty thousand people away, you

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would find a very great reduction of values in Los Angeles or San Francisco. Take away half your population here, and property will go down at once. Folks make value, and because they make value, in our laws, from this time forward, we are bound to recognize them and their rights, as we have never fully done in the past.

New York State has been getting about eight million dollars a year from the inheritance tax. But an accident occurred on the ocean; the *Titanic* went down, and with it many men of wealth; and it was estimated that New York would get from their estates about twenty million dollars. One man died of great wealth, a world-known name, and he left as his one principal heir a slender, gentle-looking boy of twenty-one, Vincent Astor, a young man, as we are told, of good impulses and generous character. He has had placed on his young shoulders a burden of something like a hundred millions to carry, and there isn't one of you but that feels sorry for him. You all know perfectly well that if he had inherited a hundredth part of that amount, or less than that, his chances for a well-developed manhood, the chances for a full exercise of all his qualities of mind and body would have been greater than they now are; and if the State or the Nation had the rest of it, it would be just that much better off. It is a big question, and it is going to affect our educational and moral advancement. This is one illustration; we have them all around.

So, all around us, there is very great wealth, passing down from father to son, or to more remote heirs, all the time. You and I have assumed that it was a kind of divine law that provided that the child should inherit from the father; but it isn't. It is a good law, when fairly regulated, but it is a man-made law. A good lawyer will tell you that the State has provided the whole

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method by which transfer is made, and by which a child inherits from the father; and the State has always made a slight tax, and later a somewhat larger tax. The State has the power to provide how property shall be inherited, and what proportion of it shall go to son and daughter; and the only question the State has to face now is, "What is the right thing? What would justice mean? What ought to be done?" I stand to-day absolutely in favor of all due encouragement being given to enterprise and ability. The State's duty is to make such laws as shall help men to do business. It is the right of the State, and we demand of the State or Nation that it shall do all it can to help along the prosperity of its people; and if a man of large endowment is keen enough and bright enough to make and gain, give him a chance, as long as he does it legitimately. The only question is, when this man has done with the things of this life; when He who made him has spoken again, and has said, "Leave your possessions on earth," then the question is, whether the children alone shall stand by the bier. Let the State's representatives stand there also; let the laws determine what proportion shall go to the children, and what proportion shall come to the State; but the division must be made in righteousness and fairness.

There is, in this country of ours, in this State of ours, an old man who came here long ago from another country. I saw him at the depot a few years ago, and he was than past eighty years of age, and he is still living. And that man, it is said, possesses property in California that will allow him to drive his flocks and herds from San Diego to the Oregon line, and camp every night on his own land. He has huge properties, tremendous ranches; some mountainous, and some of the best, worth hundreds of dollars an acre. That man acquired property, because

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of his keenness, all over the State in vast areas. Let us give him credit for it. What has he done? He has kept his flocks and herds in uncounted numbers; but nowhere, so far as I know, has there been any marked improvement on his lands. But nevertheless, this land that was once worth almost nothing is immensely valuable to-day somehow, and the somehow we ought to investigate. Great value has come to that land. How did it come? Because ours is a glorious State, and the people flock here and take up their little farms all around this man's properties, and have made this land valuable, and he is the gainer by what the public has done for him. He will go to his reward. I have not a word to say against him. I do not know that he ever acquired an acre unlawfully. What I plead for is that our people in our State, who made the greater part of his gain, shall come in for some reasonable proportion of that vast property, which is presumably worth not less than a hundred millions. Am I wrong? If I am, I don't want the State to get it; but if I am right, I want the people of the State to wake up and say that we have rights that we have slept upon, and demand our share of the great wealth that we have helped to make, when the man who has accumulated it has passed beyond.

I have long letters in my possession from a man who, in the city in which he lives, has a private art gallery which he lets the public see. I was invited to visit that art gallery. I didn't want to go, and I will tell you why. That man sent me a newspaper clipping from a San Francisco paper, finding fault with an address which I had made, similar to this that I am now making; and in that letter he labored with me, page after page, to show me that I was wrong; that great wealth in the hands of the few was a blessing to the people at large, who didn't

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themselves know how to acquire such wealth. He sent me a page from the *San Francisco Chronicle* with a picture of this man and the statement that he owned a million acres of California land, as if that were to his credit. I went to the Attorney General of this State; I said, "See here, this is what this man owns; tell me, isn't that land worth about a hundred dollars an acre on an average?" He said, "There is a good deal of redwood, some of the best timber land of California. Yes, it must be worth an average of one hundred dollars an acre." A hundred million dollars worth of land in this State held by a non-resident, because our laws allowed him to come in and grab what belonged to the State.

Take this fact. I was in San Francisco in the absence of the governor, and it was my duty to welcome a good roads convention a few years ago. At that convention there were representatives from Mexico to Alaska, and from British Columbia came the treasurer of that province. He said, "We, in British Columbia, appropriated four million dollars for good roads last year, and this year we have set aside another four million dollars." I knew the population of British Columbia was less than that of San Francisco or Los Angeles. I hunted him up, and I said, "Tell me, what do you mean when you give those figures? How do you get the four million dollars? You didn't bond the province?" "Oh, no," he said. "But your taxes are not enormous?" "Oh," he said, "we have hardly any taxes at all in British Columbia. We lease our agricultural lands, and our timber lands and our mineral lands, and this year we will get fifteen million dollars rental." Meanwhile, California, by its unwisdom, turns over to a single owner, a million acres of land, and lets him pay for it at the rate of about \$2.50 per acre.

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Do you charge me with being a Henry George man, a single-taxer? Oh, well, if you did, I could stand it; but I am not. But I am profoundly thankful that God gave Henry George to the world.

Do you think that I am verging on socialism? I am not a socialist. There is a country in this world which is very strongly socialist, yet they have never got into power in that country. If they had been in power; if socialism instead of imperialism had controlled Germany, there would be no war in Europe to-day; but I am not a socialist. I am a good many removes from it; but I learn from everything; from Henry George and from socialism, and I aim to do what one man may do to help bring about better conditions that will help those who most need the help of great wealth to get their fair share of what is theirs.

I am glad to talk to you people this afternoon on this subject because I believe that each one of you will go back to your own localities and spread this doctrine. I gave this address at the commencement exercises of one of our colleges some time ago, and a great many millionaires who had had to do with the origin of that school and were on its Board of Trustees, were there, and a friend of mine afterward inquired whether they agreed with the main sentiment, and strange to say, every one of them said that it was justice. Wealth would practically lose nothing, for, if such a law were in effect, inside of twenty years wealth of the living would pay but a little in current expenses. A legitimate inheritance tax would relieve them as well as other tax payers, and they would not have to pay it until after they were done with it.

Ex-President Roosevelt—and I dare say to you that he still lives and sometimes writes—he said to me once, “Some day there will be a law that will provide that no

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man shall inherit more than a given amount; the rest shall go to the State."

John Stuart Mill goes farther than I have gone in any word that I have said, and his is a name to conjure with; for Mill says that "while there is some reason in a child inheriting from a father, that there is no reason whatever for collateral inheritance. Just because some one who never saw the wealthy man turns out to be the nearest, though a remote relative, is no reason at all why he should become the possessor of his wealth." He works out a scheme that provides that all that any man may inherit shall always be a little less than half a million. I know you would be grieved to think of a man starting out in life with only half a million. A banker, who is worth some tens of millions, complained in my presence that the time was coming when a man couldn't leave more than half a million to any one of his children. Alas, how sad!

I am glad that I have had this hearing, but I shall rejoice the more if you will go home and teach these doctrines to others.

CHAPTER XXVIII.
THE KEY TO SOCIAL PROGRESS.

BY CHARLES S. GARDNER.

Being just at the end of a twenty-seven-hundred-mile journey, I am very much impressed with the distance which I had to cover to reach here. I find in this region of the country an intense feeling in regard to these social questions, which is very grateful to my heart. Perhaps it is characteristic of your western life that you should be intense, and that the pressure should be high; but I am convinced that the progress which this congress forecasts is going to need a high pressure of steam to carry it through, and the higher the pressure, the better. I felt so this morning particularly, when I listened to that magnificent address from one of the men active in your prison life, and have felt it in several of the other great addresses that I have had the pleasure of listening to.

Every student of social movements to-day will first seek a standpoint, a point of view, from which he can survey the whole field of social movements in order to get them in their truest relation, and understand and appreciate most broadly their significance, a point of view which will give him a standpoint from which he can best evaluate the different movements which are pressing for our loyalty and our aid.

The true point of view from which to consider all these things is that of the child. What does it mean for the child? That is the question which every social reformer and every social revolutionist must consider; for I got the impression from some of the things I heard that there

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is a little of the spirit of revolution abroad in this part of the country; and I must say that I am not entirely out of sympathy with it.

What we want to know always with regard to every movement is this: What does it mean for the child? I do not underestimate at all the importance of grown-up people, or the significance of social movements with reference to them; but after all, the movements in which we are engaged look so far ahead that they are not going to be realized in a day; and therefore the significant point of view, the point of view from which one can see the whole territory most significantly, is that of the child.

I love to look at it from this point of view also because an appeal to-day, made in the name of the child, reaches the hearts of more people than any other appeal that can be made. Whatever may be our attitude toward children to-day, one thing is true; I think that as they grow fewer, they grow more precious. There was never any age or any generation, which brought forth fewer children than this one, or which valued the children more. That is a paradox worth thinking about.

I shall not take your time to discuss the nature of the child. We all understand that the child is simply a potential personality; humanity in the raw.

The child is undeveloped and has to be shaped, and the shaping process takes place through the continual play of forces upon it from the environment in which it lives. The constant interaction of the growing personality upon its environment is the process through which that personality is developed. We have debated for a long time whether circumstances made men, or men made circumstances; and the reason why that question is such a perpetual one and cannot be solved, is that both positions are true. Circumstances make men; and at the same time,

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men are making the circumstances. The environment, in its action upon life, is formative; and at the same time and through the very same process, life is formative and creative in its action upon the environment.

The significant thing about the child is that the environment does the work first. The child is born helpless; the little one comes into the world, is born into an environment, which it had no share in making, and which must begin its action intensively upon it from the moment it opens its eyes in the world. The very first things it sees, the first sounds that assault its little ears, are the formative processes beginning at once upon the young life; and however much the little one may modify his environment from the moment he begins to breathe (for that is always true; it does begin to modify the environment the moment it is born—a home becomes a different sort of an institution from the moment a child is born into it), yet nevertheless that modification is without purpose, it is not intelligent. It is simply instinctive; the child does not make its environment in an intelligent or purposive way, whereas the environment is all the time conditioning that little life and setting the limits within which it must develop. It is very important, therefore, to consider what sort of an environment the child is born into.

There has been a process going on in our modern life which I do not think has attracted the attention of social thinkers and workers as much as it should, by any manner of means. There has come about, in these later days, almost without our knowing it, a very radical change in the relation which organized society—the great society, the state and the whole social order—sustains to the child.

In the days when the home was a relatively isolated, and at the same time a relatively independent institution;

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in the days when it was a world unto itself, economic and civic, the outside world beyond the home had very remote and indirect relations with the child. But to-day, what we witness is this: homes no longer stand comparatively isolated and relatively independent, but are brought very close together, and have become linked up in a very complex and intricate social order. The home has lost its economic independence and its civic semi-independence. One by one, many of the functions that used to be performed in it have been transferred to outside agencies. What kinds of work are carried on in the home to-day? Here in San Francisco, for instance, what sorts of activities, or functions, are carried on in the home, where a family lives in a little flat on the tenth floor of a modern apartment building and gets its meals at the café below? Almost every form of activity that was once carried on in the home has been, in great measure, transferred to outside institutions. The result has been that the child no longer grows in a little garden limited to itself, called the home; but almost from the beginning of its life it finds itself thrust out into the great, complex life of general society. The state and the outside world—organized society is coming into closer and closer contact with the child, both directly and through the home. But what I now emphasize is the direct impact of organized society upon the child. Consequently when we now talk about what sort of an environment children are growing up in, we are bound not merely to consider the home, but also the great social order in the midst of which the child lives. (Applause.)

So we can't solve the problem of the child by working on the home alone. How long is it before the little one is taken out of the home and put into school, or, if not into school, under the control of organized society? How

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long is it before it is thrust out into the factory? And when it is sent neither to the school nor the factory, how long is it before the little one, as it toddles out of the tenement onto the street, finds itself face to face with the great, organized society, and meets the representative of that society in the person of the uniformed policeman?

The child to-day comes in contact with organized society at a very early age. Not only is much of the economic activity that used to be centered in the home, removed from the home; but the educational activity has been also transferred. The child is sent out now, before it is old enough to go alone, with its nurse to the kindergarten, or some other school—too often in order that the mother may get rid of it. Religious education also has gone out of the home, and it has not gone anywhere else, either. It has left the home and found no other abiding place; and the result is that we are bringing up a generation of children, the great majority of whom have no positive and definite religious instruction whatsoever.

Now, I ask you to think with me a little while very earnestly, what does all this mean for the child in its relation to social progress? Evidently it is a question, not only of the home, but of the social order itself; and we must look at the social order from this point of view. We must ask ourselves about it and study it from the standpoint of the little one.

In the first place, we must secure for every child a proper home. It can never again be the old-time home. We might as well give up that dream. You cannot turn the wheels of society backward into the period of the isolated home; you have got to try to adapt the home to the modern situation. But society must undertake to secure a proper home. That is to say, the child must have

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a place which is a real home, where it has the care of a real motherhood and fatherhood.

Some time ago I had occasion to look for a certain woman whom I knew wished employment, a widow; and I found her in a dark, back room on the third floor of a tenement. She was ill, largely because, as a widow, she had been thrown out into the competitive economic life of our time, with a child to care for; and that child was a fatal handicap upon her. She couldn't get employment anywhere. Why? Because she was tied to that child, and so she was out of employment and slowly starving to death because her mother heart refused to surrender the child to a public institution.

Now, what does that mean? There are such cases by the thousand in every community. It means that society is as much responsible for those children as the mother. (Applause.)

The change which I have described in the relation of the child to society means that society must take over a part of the responsibility for the little ones. I make a plea this afternoon for the endowment of widowed motherhood. That ought to be done; we cannot and should not be contented with any program short of that, and every widow who has to make her own living in our present social order, must have the help of society to enable her to perform the function of motherhood; for it is a fearful, I might say an almost diabolical, alternative which we force upon the widowed mother to-day—either to give up her child and sacrifice her motherhood, or starve, or worse.

I make a plea also for the provision of a proper home for the child so that it may not only have motherhood, but fatherhood also. As a matter of fact, there are great numbers of men in our land to-day, who, under our

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competitive system, are pressed down below the normal living point, and cannot provide a home; they cannot give their children a home. Wages are too low. I would like to have you tell me how anybody can live to-day and rear a family on five hundred dollars a year. May be you have got prices down out here to the point where it can be done; but where I live it is impossible. And yet that is the average wage of the working man to-day. In America, so far as we have been able to learn by statistics, the average laboring man has to live on five hundred dollars a year and bring up his family.

What is the result? That the children are underfed; the mother is forced out to work to supplement the family income; and the father is disheartened and discouraged and very frequently, in his desperation, forsakes mother and children.

Here we come squarely up against the obstruction that we come up against from whatever direction we approach this social problem: a cruel and anti-Christian industrial system. (Applause.)

You may study it and tinker at it as much as you please, but you can never cure this situation until you take this central stronghold, and substitute for present industrial conditions an economic order organized according to the law of Jesus Christ. The present, unjust industrial system is organized from the bottom to the top on an anti-Christian principle, and it has got to be reconstructed from the foundation; and I make a plea for this reconstruction in the interest of the child.

A thing that I frequently do in order that I may renew my enthusiasm—that it may have a sort of rebirth—is to take a walk through some of the tenement house or slum districts which are always close by in any city, and see the droves of little children, dirty and ragged and ignor-

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ant, swarming in the streets. If the angels up yonder in heaven don't look down and weep over that situation, they must have no tears to shed up there. There is the great plague spot of every city, the slum; that is, of every industrial city. In studying the slum, I wish you would notice how it always goes with industry.

All around the slums are the great tenement districts; and in these wretched dwelling places, if we can call them that—for they are hardly human abodes—into or near to these districts are pressed the working people, the common people, the poor; and that is where are being reared most of the children in our generation. They are swarming around that great plague spot, the slum; and they are slipping by thousands, down, down into its dark depths.

I say we might as well attack the central condition. The industrial order which brings about the situation has got to be transformed or else we cannot redeem human society and save the children. And if there is any child worse off than the child in the slum, it is the rare child that you find on the boulevards. That child is brought up in an environment which is just as powerful in forming its mind and heart on a wrong model and in cultivating in its soul a false view of human values, as the child down below. One of the strongest appeals that can be made for the transformation and reorganization of our whole economic life can be made in the interest of the unfortunate rich.

But we must go farther than that in taking care of the children. In addition to the fact that we must place the child in a healthful environment and must give it real fatherhood and motherhood, we have got to give it the right sort of an education; we have got to give *all* of them the right sort of an education. I don't know what the

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state of public opinion is on that question in this part of the country, but we must solemnly dedicate ourselves to the proposition that every child born in our land must have an education. If the home has so fallen down in its function that it is no longer able to take care of the situation, then the state must come to the rescue, or at any rate stand behind the home and guarantee that negligence in the home shall not forever and ever handicap and blight the growing child. For the child is a social asset—one which may very easily become a liability, to be sure; but it is a social asset, and *all* the children, ladies and gentlemen, are your children. Let us remember that all the children are our children, and we must see to it that every one of them has as much education as by a wise handling he can be induced to take.

Now, it doesn't become me on this occasion, I am sure, to discuss the whole question of education. But I wish to say one or two things. In my judgment there is nothing that needs reform more than the schools, unless it be the churches. I believe I will put the churches first, because I have found in my contact with ministers that the average minister is frequently about as dense a man as I find on social questions. But there are some dense ones in the schoolrooms, too.

We need an education that is adapted to child nature. We haven't found out how to do that yet. The truth is that in the church and in the school and everywhere, except in industry, the shadow of the Middle Ages is still upon us. We have got to adapt our education to child nature, and learn so to approach the child in the educational process as to get from it an effective response; and I believe it is possible to do this. But I go farther than that. I believe that we are coming to the time when our educational system will not only get a new psychological

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conception of its work, but when it must become in larger measure a system of vocational guidance. Now, I am not going to take up the question, which has been discussed pro and con, of vocational education. That is not the proposition that I am discussing. My proposition is that we need vocational guidance. The truth is that modern society has become enormously complex, and the average boy or girl stumbles around in this vast mass of specialized activity without being able to find the particular place where he or she belongs. And in large measure this is one of the contributory causes of crime. I am sure it is partly the explanation of the weakening, the breakdown almost, of religious faith in modern people. A man who finds himself by a series of accidents, misplaced in the world, not properly related to life, not dove-tailed into that particular function where he can find himself at home; the man who is misplaced in this way can never be happy or contented, and can never be of the most use to society. He is likely to be cut adrift and finally land in prison. At any rate there is no question but that the misplacing of men in our modern life has contributed greatly to the weakening of religious faith. How can a man believe that this is a divinely ordered world when he finds his own life very badly ordered and adjusted to the whole situation? Put a man where he belongs; where he fits; where he is conscious that he has a field for the development of his natural capacity, a field where he can express himself; and it is very reasonable for that man to feel that there is a moral order. He himself fits into it, and he can see some rationality in it; but a man misplaced cannot easily do so. In this, vast modern life that we are living, there is nothing much more important than that the boys and girls should be educated with a view to ascertaining what their special capacities are, that they

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may be properly helped to find and place themselves, and thus make their best contribution to the world.

But while I am talking about social transformation as the line along which we must move in taking care of our children, this paradox forces itself upon my mind; the children are about our only means of bringing about the social transformation that we need. The work must be done through the children. Do you know, I thank God at every remembrance of this fact, that while this great, organized society is taking the little ones and putting its stamp upon them, and the process of social assimilation, and assimilation to false ideals and standards, too, is going on, yet, please God, you cannot run a new generation into the mold of the old completely; and the new generation is our hope. The new generation will be the one that will save human society. The children themselves are growing up to-day as they never have before in the wide world, discontented; but I love the discontent of this age.

I thank God that we are discontented. If there is anybody I feel sorry for down in my heart, it is for the man or woman who looks on this world to-day and likes it as it is. I am not a pessimist; this is the best world we have ever had; that is the reason why we are discontented. But the man or woman who can look on the facts we face to-day, and can see our social situation as it really is and be contented with it, is one for whom I feel sorry.

Here is where we touch the function of the Church in relation to the whole situation. The function of the Church in our modern life is to spiritualize and direct the discontent of our age. That is our business as preachers. This discontent is like dynamite; it could easily wreck human society. We see it cropping out in anarchistic forms; and let me tell you now, that if the

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discontent of this age is not taken hold of by the Church and directed and spiritualized and controlled to high ethical ends, it is going to blow up the whole fabric.

Now that is our function as a church, and that is the reason I despise the preacher that is contented with the situation.

Christianity was born into a world of discontent, into a world in which one social order was going to pieces because it was unethical from the foundation up; and that new Christian movement born in Galilee took over the discontented minds and directed them to a great spiritual ideal; and for a while saved the situation, until it surrendered to the world. We are born into a world very much like that; an age of discontent, an age when the social order is going to pieces, and we are groping for new ideals, and a new organization of society. And it is the function of our divine religion to show men that while this discontent is well founded, it should be guided towards the kingdom of God; and the kingdom means a new industrial order; it means a new political order and the redemption of human society through and through.

I believe with all my heart that the Church of Jesus Christ is yet going to rise to the situation and perform this function. I am satisfied that if she does not perform this function as an instrument for the realization of the kingdom of God, the Lord of the Church will cast it aside as worthless and work out his purpose through some other instrument. But I believe the Church will rise to its opportunity; and may I say to you that I have the happy privilege of instructing in these matters, every year, a class of ministers nearly as large as this group of people here. They are going out to be the pastors of the churches; and into their minds, by God's help, I am

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planting, to the best of my ability, a new conception of human progress. (Applause.)

The Church to-day is too much engaged in the business of saving itself. Let me say this in conclusion; the Church will save itself by saving the world, and it will save the world in a large way only as it saves organized society. You can't save the world by picking out individuals from the wreck; you can't do it. For do we not see the fact before us continually—isn't the fact forcing itself upon the vision of men, that the ungodly, anti-Christian order is grinding out wreckage faster than we can repair it? It is by saving the whole machine that we shall best be able to save the wastage and wreckage of human life.

CHAPTER XXIX.
DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

BY JOHN R. HAYNES.

Nearly two thousand years ago a Palestinian laboring man, called Jesus, the Christ, taught his followers to love their enemies. To-day, ten million men, calling themselves after the Carpenter, Christians, are drenching Europe with the blood of fellow-Christians. Two thousand years ago this Son of the common people announced that he had come into the world in order that all men might have life more abundantly. Yet to-day, in so-called Christian America, millions of men and women and little children are rotting in the city slums.

Dr. Josiah Strong, when asked the question, "Is Christianity a failure?" is quoted as replying, "I don't know; it's never been tried."

Fortunately, such anomalies as we witness to-day, cannot continue permanently. Casuistry and word juggling cannot reconcile such contradictions in this scientific age when men demand honesty and candor in their thinking. For many centuries one principle has been preached and occasionally practiced by a few individuals in their personal lives, while another principle diametrically contrary and antagonistic has characterized the whole framework of our human institutions, political, religious, educational, and economic. The words of Jesus, "Love your enemies," are heard often enough and sometimes practiced in our personal relations; but in our national thinking, patriotism, meaning by that term *our* country's glory and welfare as *opposed* to *all others*, is the dominant note. Pu-

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pils in German schools are made proud by the stories of German victories over French armies, and pupils in French schools are thrilled with the accounts of French victories over German armies. American children find in their school histories lengthy recitals of the battles of Grant and Lee, and go forth quite ignorant of the great constructive benefactors of our country, the scientists, the poets, the inventors, the Howes, the Fultons, the McDowells, and the Thoreaus. "Love our enemies?" Yes; but we must get the advantage of them in trade; we must build custom houses and force them, if possible, to buy our goods without our buying their goods. We must build larger battleships "for defense" against our enemies; so that they can build larger battleships "for defense" against us. So we Christians accumulate armaments so great that their maintenance during times of peace requires a tax burden of twenty-five hundred million dollars a year and finally a war bursts upon us that wrecks our civilization.

Perhaps, after all, Jesus was no such sentimental visionary. Perhaps, if his precepts were incorporated into the political and educational framework of our society, it would pay in dollars and cents.

Personally, we love our neighbor; on Sunday, pretty generally; but on Monday the whole framework and character of our industrial system necessitates warfare for supremacy without business rivals. The pagan motto that competition is the life of trade, completely controls our thinking and we have juggled words in order to show that business competition and warfare are not anti-Christian. At last, however, business men of wide vision and large experience are quite generally coming to the opinion that competition is the death of trade and that the life

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of trade consists not in competition, but in co-operation. Jesus may not have been so poor a political economist.

The regimentation of industry due to steam and electricity, together with the exhaustion of the supply of free land in the rain belt, open to the ambitious laborer without capital, have produced a temporary stage of private economic despotism. Thirty million workers in America are mostly laboring in vast, mobilized, industrial armies. The privates, mill and mine workers and young children, in these armies, are practically slaves—wage slaves. For the fact as to the existence of a state of slavery or a state of freedom is not determined by the benevolence or malevolence, the gentleness or the cruelty of the master. In a hundred lands and eras, slavery has worn as many garbs; but as Abraham Lincoln once remarked, "The essential character of slavery everywhere remains the same. The spirit of slavery is expressed in these words, 'You labor and toil and produce the bread, and I'll eat it.'" Said Vice President Marshall recently, "The cause of the present industrial discontent in America is the fact that the worker is getting only about one-fourth of what he produces." That the worker, under the system of wage slavery, can change masters from day to day does not free him from the state of slavery. His slavery consists in the fact that he is producing bread for others to eat, he getting only a small portion of the total production.

The per capita wealth of the nation has trebled and quadrupled since 1850. This, however, does not mean that the average man is any better off now than then, for wealth is enormously more unevenly distributed now than then. It means wealth to the point of satiety to the captains in the industrial army and to the idlers outside the army; but to the privates in the industrial ranks, it means

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no improvement whatever; in fact, the condition of the average worker has been steadily growing worse since 1850. While the average per capita wealth is greater, the wealth of the average man is less; that is to say, the poorer fifty per cent of the population has much less wealth to-day than had the poorer fifty per cent in the days of free land in the rain belt. Moreover, the American of that day was chiefly a country dweller, and besides being provided, as a rule, with abundance of food, he lived in the open air and sunshine. Industrial changes already mentioned and operating everywhere, in Europe as well as America, have drawn the population very largely to the city. The economic condition of the average American worker is rapidly deteriorating. Since 1896, although wages have nominally increased between twenty per cent and thirty per cent, the cost of life necessities has increased between sixty per cent and seventy per cent. The passage of practically each twelve months during the last nineteen years has been marked by a decided decrease in the purchasing power in life necessities of the average laborer's weekly pay envelope. The Russell Sage Foundation investigators found that the amount required to maintain a family of five in normal health and efficiency ranged from \$760 to \$900 per year, according to locality. The average American worker receives only about \$500 per year. This means two things: First, the mother and children must go to work to piece out the family income; and second, that the family must live below the standard of normal efficiency. Prof. Scott Nearing, of the University of Pennsylvania, after years of investigation, finds that *the average American child is under-nourished*.

Jesus said that he came in order that the people might have life more abundantly; but present conditions in

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America render it absolutely impossible for the multitude to live abundant lives. The working man sees his own children stunted and pale, while those of the more favored are well nourished. He sees the industrial captain, or the wealthy idler, indulging their fancies in Italian villas, while he attempts to exist with his family in a one-room tenement. He sees the children of the industrial captain enjoying the advantages of individual instruction, of college education, of travel, of books and pictures, of beautiful and ennobling surroundings, while his own children, while still mere babies, must give up even the poor opportunities they have had of education in crowded schoolroom, in large classes, under overworked teachers, where they are tossed, so to speak, like inanimate materials by cartfuls into educational hoppers, to be ground out supposedly into uniform products—and go out at the end of the fourth grade to enter upon their sentence of hard labor for life. He sees all the injustice of the situation and his heart fills with unquenchable hate.

That conditions shall continue as they are is inconceivable. Either the wage slave must resign himself to a state of slavery or the whole slavery system must go. I see no signs of resignation on the part of the workers. I can see no signs of anything but the overthrow of the present system. The day of privilege is almost over. The word "privilege" means literally exemption from the burdens of the law. God himself enunciated the universal law, "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread." In all ages the privileged class has perverted this to read, "In the sweat of other men's brows shall I and my children eat bread."

In the past the privileged class has generally been able to secure a monopoly of intelligence, and therefore easily maintained their privileges. They could persuade the

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more ignorant toiler that he was composed of a darker clay, only fit to serve his betters. They pacified his discontent by promising him that he should, if obedient, receive his reward by an abundance of privilege in another world, or they sweetened his slavery by giving back to him, on the Master's birthday, or at Christmas time, a portion of the product wrung from him, as a gracious gift. To-day, however this privileged class no longer monopolizes intelligence. On the contrary, superior intelligence is rather to be found among the unprivileged class. Scientists, inventors, artists, and writers are seldom found in the privileged class. Therefore, the doom of privilege is sealed. Throughout the earth to-day is heard the insistent demand among the masses for more abundant life. Not only in America and in Europe, but in Turkey, in Persia, and in China, the multitude demands the abolition of privilege. The clock of the age is striking. Privilege is fighting its last battle. Democracy is conscious and militant. To oppose this great movement is as futile as to attempt to drive back the ocean tides with a broom. The question is not whether the new era of economic freedom will come; the question is whether it will come peaceably or with seas of blood.

Historically, the overthrow of privilege has usually been accompanied by great violence. I hope that the industrial battles in Colorado, in Michigan, and in Lawrence, Massachusetts, do not presage a terrific and bloody conflict. If economic democracy does come without terrific violence, it will be due, in my opinion, largely to the efforts of the Church. The Church is in a position to influence both combatants more favorably than is any other organization. It can say to the laborer: "You need not give up your Christianity in your zeal for democracy, for fundamentally they are the same; both mean abundant

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life for all men. You are entitled to abundant life and you are not required to wait for it for future generations or for a future world; but it is to your interest, as well as that of humanity, that you secure it by constructive means. The church can say to the privileged class, You must yield privilege; you and your children must henceforth eat only bread that you yourselves produce. In emancipating the exploited, however, you will be really emancipating yourselves."

The most hopeful sign of the present day to me is the whole-hearted zeal with which leading clergymen are seeking to obtain social reconstruction without bloodshed. It is a fine thing that in such assemblages as this, convened to secure exchange of ideas and co-operation for social betterment, that the leadership is being taken by active ministers of all religious denominations. The task to be performed is, nevertheless, almost appalling in its magnitude. The workman feels crushed to the earth; he sees no light ahead for himself or for his children; he is desperate. Either unversed in historical studies, or, if so trained, denying the conclusion that education and political action are more effective in righting wrongs than are physical violence and bloodshed, he tends instinctively to strike out blindly. To persuade him to constructive effort is often very difficult.

Even more difficult, perhaps, is the task of persuading the beneficiaries of privilege to climb down from the backs of others and walk. Privilege is so sweet, or seems so sweet, that for many centuries casuistry has been exercised in the attempt to satisfy the unprivileged without depriving the privileged of their advantages. To-day the phrase most perverted in this word game is that of "equality of opportunity." Honestly put into practice, equality of opportunity would be a great step toward securing abun-

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dance of life for all. As actually used, the term merely tends to confuse discussion. The assumption that slavery and brotherhood might exist together seems to us absurd, yet by an ingenious species of word juggling it was so claimed for centuries. Jesus was logical and honest. When he declared that abundant life was for all and that all were brothers, he meant it. His immediate followers for a time practiced this belief. Wealth was held in common; there was no privilege; a state of actual brotherhood existed. But privilege soon crept in and word juggling began. Even the great apostle to the Gentiles, St. Paul, reared as he had been, a member of the privileged class, could not rid himself of the belief in the necessity of privilege, and attempted to reconcile slavery with brotherhood. On the one hand, he enjoined upon slaves obedience to their "masters in the Lord," and on the other hand enjoined upon the masters kindness to their slaves as to "brothers in the Lord."

To-day, everybody professes allegiance to the principle of equality of opportunity; but few believe in an *actual* equality of opportunity. A race, however, is not an equal race if, at the pistol shot, one athlete starts a half mile in advance of his rival at the base line. The poor boy is not given an equality of opportunity if his richer rival is favored with more nourishing food, better opportunities of travel, more artistic and intellectual surroundings, not to speak of a greater chance of securing an occupational position offering future advantages of power and rewards. Real equality of opportunity, if put in practice, will accomplish wonders, but it will cost a big price. It cannot be secured by pleasant words nor by merely reformatory measures. It will require such radical changes in the whole political and economic framework of society as the following: An inheritance tax that will place the

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rich man's son on an equality with the poor man's son ; a land tax that will restore the wealth of nature to all the people for the benefit of all, and the public ownership and operation of the great industries that supply the necessities of life to the people.

These are radical steps, it is true, indeed revolutionary ; but nothing less will give us real equality of opportunity. George M. Reynolds, in his presidential address before the American Bankers' Association, stated that eleven men, of whom he admitted himself to be one, practically controlled the industries of the United States, and declared that with such industrial despotism there could be no liberty for the American people.

Private economic despotism is not only converting a large proportion of the citizens of the land into wage slaves ; it is woefully inefficient. George W. Perkins, another member of the small oligarchy which controls the nation's industry, in his testimony before the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, said, "Any one approaching this country in an airship and looking down on it and seeing our great, fertile fields and rich mines and the comparatively small population, then seeing the number of unemployed—the number of people who are not employed as they should be—would think this was a lunatic asylum!" Another large financier, A. L. Stephens, of Detroit, says, "One of the great troubles of our country is, and has been, the putting at the helm the sons of rich people who never know how a dollar is earned, or know the true meaning of the word 'panic'; their promotions were gained by the power of their fathers or some relative's money and position." Experts before the Interstate Commission have recently testified that the boards of directors of some of the largest railroads in the country are filled with men, who, when not

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mere dummies, are still wholly ignorant of the business that they are presumed to direct.

Despotism, political or economic, is everywhere inefficient. Napoleon sent, one after another, Austrian armies of overwhelming numerical superiority, reeling in headlong route; and the reason for this was very simple. The officerships of the Austrian armies were held by dukes and counts; the positions were filled by privilege. In Napoleon's army it was said that every private carried a marshal's baton in his knapsack. His generals came from the humblest walks of life. Some had earlier served as bakers and tailors and shoemakers. Ability and merit secured the officerships. Until a few years ago officerships in the British army and rectorships in the English church were obtained openly by purchase. As they have become socialized, so officerships in the industrial army, if only for the sake of efficiency, must be socialized.

Modern life is regimented and organized into vast armies. Therefore even more than formerly are the labors of detached individuals to better the world, ineffective. Cardinal Satolli, some years ago, criticized American churches for participating in the movement to secure governmental prohibition of the liquor traffic. "Let the churches regenerate the individual," said he, and "the saloons will close up for lack of patrons." The churches however, now realize that the "sweep before one's own door" policy, if it ever works, will not work in our modern, highly-organized life. We must Christianize the whole framework of our social structure and it is a great step forward to learn that society cannot be in practice regenerated by preaching to the drunkard, temperance; to the employer, kindness; to the rich man, charity, and so on. But there is a still more important step ahead of this. Negative prohibition of alcohol and vice is good;

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positive, affirmative provision for a social structure that affords abundant life for all, is better. Jesus wasted little time in condemning vice. Instead, he furiously denounced privilege. He knew that conditions, not individuals, were to blame. Not one harsh word did he utter to thieves or prostitutes. His scathing invective was limited to the privileged classes, to the orthodox Pharisees, the heretical Sadducees, and the theological scribes, who, differing in other particulars, were identical in this: They lived the life of the privileged, eating the bread produced by the sweat of others' brows.

Robert Owens took charge of a cotton mill which was in financial difficulties and operated by ignorant, vicious, and drunken employees. He never discharged a single employee for any cause whatsoever. He surrounded them with better conditions, with more abundant life. As a result, ignorance and vice and drunkenness disappeared. The factory became known throughout the world as an oasis of sunshine and right living, and the enterprise became a great financial success. Mr. Ford, the automobile manufacturer, told the Commission on Industrial Relations, that he could take every convict out of Sing Sing prison and make a man of him.

Men are not bad; conditions are bad, and we must change the conditions. Under our present industrial system, thousands of rich idlers and millions of poor idlers are not employed at all. Other millions are not producing things that make for abundant life for the many, but cater to the luxuries and frivolities of the few. Still others produce nothing at all, but as solicitors, agents, brokers, they sell things more or less worthless. The tragedy of our present age is the small number of workers actually engaged in the labor of producing useful things. Yet upon the backs of these few useful toilers

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is laid the support of all the rest. Modern invention has multiplied an hundredfold the productive capacity of the individual worker. If everybody worked and everybody labored to produce useful things, abundant life for all would be easily possible.

The average man would then live even more abundantly than does the rich man to-day. For a superfluity impoverishes life almost as much as does actual want. Said Jesus, "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth." In the achievement of wealth the ordinary American is so oppressed by care and anxiety that he has no time for "living." If he "succeeds," that is, grasps more money than he knows what to do with, he does not know how to live, he cannot buy life—he can only buy things. Wealth takes away the necessity of labor for his children, removes the incentive to service, the greatest enricher of life. His children, next to the children of the poor, have the least opportunity; they are surrounded by temptation to self-indulgence, to vice, and to degeneracy. Equality of opportunity and abundance of life for all would also bring about the removal of physical and moral plague spots which threaten the homes of the rich as well as those of the poor.

Under socialized industry, service of every character becomes truly dignified. Peter refused to permit his Lord to wash his feet; for under slavery, service is menial. Under freedom, the workman may still be forced to derive his livelihood from a monotonous and soul-killing drudgery at the factory machine, but he realizes that it is for the service of the nation and not the private profit of an employer; and instead of his penal hours, extending from ten to twelve hours daily, he will work under a system by which all labor and for useful prod-

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ucts, only, and each man's necessary task will amount to only three or four hours. After work hours, with most of his time and strength remaining, he can really live. He can spend it in scientific research or artistic creation or gardening or social intercourse or whatever he chooses. Life, too, will be easier for him when his wife and daughters are no longer distressed by the extravagant expenditures of their wealthy friends.

Our present system is killing genius in millions of souls. The world is impoverished continuously by the loss of intellectual and artistic ideas that are never permitted to come to flower. For a single generation in Periclean Athens, though hampered by the institutional slavery and surrounded by national enemies, a portion of this community was permitted to develop its culture upon a basis of democracy and the practice of abundant life, and to-day the world stands spellbound by the glory of its accomplishments.

Under a system of economic democracy, America, free from the menace of foreign enemies and favored by the enormous advance in mechanical invention and knowledge of sanitation and hygiene, can, in a single generation, without any doubt whatever, exhibit a culture far superior to that of Athens.

We stand to-day confronting tremendous possibilities for good or for evil, which may well cause us to tremble for the results. We have, on the one hand, nationwide discontent that will not accept pleasant words in lieu of abundant life. If we hesitate, if we attempt to juggle words, to say, "Peace, peace, when there is no peace," if we talk of equality of opportunity and then block any attempt made to remove privilege, if we try to substitute charity for justice—if we do these things, we are likely to have a revolution as much more violent and bloody

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than the French revolution as are the unprivileged to-day more intelligent and conscious of their wrong than were the French peasants of 1789.

On the other hand, if we insist upon justice and real equality of opportunity for every child in the land, then there will come a state of happiness and intellectual and moral development such as the world has never dreamed of.

If the Church follows the example of Jesus, it must support democracy, political and economic. Mark Hanna called upon the Church to aid in the protection of property. But as has been pointed out by a Jewish professor in the University of Berlin, the utilization of the Church of Jesus as a bulwark to property is the greatest travesty in history. The Church of Jesus, the man who had not where to lay his head, who bitterly cursed the propertied classes as devourers of the homes of widows and orphans, who lashed the bankers with a whip of cord, turning over their tables and scattering their moneys in the street, who was put to death for arousing the discontent of the workers against the privileged—that this Church should serve as a prop to privilege is a proposition too absurd for this enlightened age.

With such Christian leaders as Walter Rauschenbusch, Josiah Strong, and Dr. Reginald Campbell, of London, and with such ringing resolutions for social justice as have been recently passed in conventions of the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist, and other churches, there can be no doubt that the influence of the Christian churches, with thousands of ministers and millions of adherents, will henceforth be exerted to gain abundant life for all of the people of this land.

All the forces for social betterment must unite in this common movement to Christianize our national and inter-

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national, political, and social structures, by substituting the principles of humanity for that of patriotism, cooperation for competition, abundant life for negative restriction—in short, to Christianize war and slavery by wholly abolishing them.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE REVIVAL OF OUR NATIONAL RELIGION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

BY J. S. M'GAW.

I feel that the words of your chairman are true; that the fitting climax for this congress is the realization of the fundamental relationship which religion bears to all social progress. In the last analysis, social progress will be commensurate with the growth of religion among the people. It is not the nation that makes the religion; it is the religion that makes the nation. The Hindoo and the Chinaman have just as much brains as the German or American. It isn't the lack of brain capacity; it is the difference in the philosophy of a people that counts. The Hindoo thinks that man has sprung from nothing, and his highest ideal is going back to nothing; consequently there is no progress, simply stagnation. The other teaches that he sprang from God, a person, and is going back to God, a person, and his highest ideal is to be like God; consequently there is progress. So you have in the philosophy of the Occident and the Orient the secret of conditions, one stagnates and the other grows and progresses through the centuries. So it isn't the nation that makes the religion; it is the religion that makes the nation. Confucianism produced China, and that meant mental and moral stagnation for centuries until Christianity struck it, and then China changed her form of government. It is said that the queen of Madagascar once wrote to Queen Victoria, asking her the secret of English

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power, and Queen Victoria sent back a magnificent copy of the Word of God. That is the secret. We have no hesitancy in affirming that the secret of this great western empire is the Word of God. The source of power is the Christianity which it teaches, and while we have never had, and pray God may never have, an established church on American soil, we have always had a national religion. There is a vast difference between the divorcement of church and state and the divorcement from the state of the religion which makes it. So while we have never had a state church, we have always had a national religion, and that is Christianity. It was written into the *Mayflower* compact before that ship touched the shore; you will find it in all the extant colonial documents, like a golden thread running all the way through; it is in the Declaration of Independence; it is in the inaugural and farewell addresses of Washington, and in the resolutions of Congress over and over, and in the messages and papers of the Presidents. It is embodied in the decisions of the Supreme Court and of the Federal and State courts; it is in the constitution of every State in the Union, including that of the great State of California; it is in the oaths administered in the courts of justice; "So help me God." The citizen is not only asked to acknowledge the existence of God but to stand in the court, and before the judge, offer a prayer to God. You will find the Bible in the public schools of thirty States, and in the Thanksgiving proclamation issued by the President and governors. You will find it embodied in the statute laws of all the States of the Union; it is stamped upon our coins, "In God We Trust." Turn where you will, you come face to face with the fact that upon American soil there is a national religion, and that national religion is Christian.

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And, friends, the Supreme Court of the United States in 1892 had a case before it in which they were compelled to decide what kind of a nation this is, and so they had passed before them in careful review all this evidence which I have presented and far more beside from our legal documents, and from our general, national life; and at the conclusion of that magnificent review they gave the unequivocal decision that this is a Christian nation. The genius of our American Republic is Christian and the common law of the land is based upon Christianity, and the greatest single battle to be fought on American soil at this moment is for the conservation of our national Christianity. All the reforms that we seek in civic life depend upon that, for the religion of a people constitutes the environment of a people, and so we must look to our national religion as the fundamental thing if we are to get anything like progress in social conditions.

But some one sits back and says, "Is our national religion in danger? Doesn't it exist like the atmosphere that we breathe?" But the atmosphere may become poisoned and lose its life-giving property; and there is danger that the atmosphere of our national life, derived from the mighty impulse of the colonial days, the great inspiration in the building of our American institutions—that that national religion may become contaminated and in a large measure lose the power it originally possessed.

We must remember that while we have had for one hundred and fifty years the dominancy of our national religion; while we had it all during colonial times, when the young giant grew up he wholly ignored his forefathers' creed, he forgot his early instruction, and he made a document which contains no reference whatever to God or Jesus Christ or to the law of God, which is the only true basis of civil law. We have a constitution which

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does not in any wise recognize our national Christianity. That is a great defect. There is a struggle between a democracy which proposes to de-Christianize America, and a democracy that proposes to Christianize America; on one side the religious democracy and on the other side the secular democracy, determined not to rest, day or night, until the last vestige of Christianity is banished from our national institutions.

First of all, is the American Secular Union, representing ten million agnostics, atheists, infidels, banded together and sending out from their headquarters in Chicago their literature denouncing the principle, which they hold up to scorn that the Church of Jesus Christ, which they hold in contempt, and our American Sabbath, and all these Christian features have made us what we are. And in the *Truth Seeker*, their weekly organ, they demand that we banish the Bible from our schools, do away with all chaplains in the army and navy, and all days of prayer in our Republic, and that we may be guided by natural morality and not Christian morality. I don't know what natural morality is; I have never been in any country where they had a first-class example of it. The nearest approach to it, I imagine, would be in the middle of the Philippine Islands among the bolo throwers and head hunters, or among the Hottentots and Zulus; and I want to tell our friends that their lives wouldn't be worth seven cents if they were to live in the kind of a land that they want to make America. There is no insurance company that would accept them as a risk, if they insisted on living in that kind of a country.

But these people have lobbyists in the legislature and send out their literature. And back of them is the American Conference of American Rabbis, representing the Jews, and they are trying to de-Christianize America and

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make it Jewish, if possible. Their idea is to banish the Bible from the public schools, do away with the American Sabbath and all reference to Christianity in any form in legal documents, legislative enactments, or in our national life, manners, and customs. They have just had their twenty-fifth annual convention.

Back of them again are the reformed Jews, and they give opportunities to the rabbis to lecture, and see that the lecture is published in the papers. They represent between one and two million Jews; they are putting thousands of dollars into the propaganda.

Back of them stands the great, organized liquor traffic, which realizes that Christianity is inconsistent with the saloon, and so the whole hue and cry of the liquor traffic is "Away with the Church; what has Christianity got to do with politics or national life?" They maintain that God has nothing to do with government. They are using thousands of dollars in their work, for it is the only hope of the continuance of the saloon.

Then there is the Roman Catholic Hierarchy. The rank and file of the Catholics would be willing to leave the Bible in the public schools; but the hierarchy, never. It is opposed to that, and to the free education of the people. They want to banish the Bible from every public school in America and they are spending thousands of dollars to let us know that they are opposed to the public school.

Then we have always back of them a number of other sects, who, in order to foist their tenets on the government, are willing to accept the aid of these other organizations. All of these constitute the secularizing forces in America, and they are to-day one of the gravest dangers we have under the Stars and Stripes. I am not so much worried over the prospect of an invading army or

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navy as I am over the existence of forces that will remove the foundations on which our social existence is built. Their whole plea is that it is "unconstitutional," and they hark back always to our law. We can always fall back on the common law of the land, because that is Christian; but how much better if we could have in our fundamental law a clear-cut statement of our national religion; and it ought to be there.

Suppose a young man starting out in life, upon reaching his majority should say, "I don't propose for a single instant to acknowledge my responsibility to Almighty God and his reign in my life; I don't propose to accept the law of God." What could you expect? Would you be surprised if that young man drifted into the saloon business? That is what Uncle Sam has done; he is the chief partner in business with two hundred thousand legalized saloons under government protection. You wouldn't be surprised if that young man had very loose ideas with regard to divorce and polygamy, would you? To-day we have fifty-one different divorce codes, all busy; we have fifty-five different reasons for divorce; we have delivered one hundred and seventy-five thousand divorces. It has been estimated that every second minute a divorce is applied for, and every third minute one is granted. One in every three marriages ends in divorce in Kansas, and in the United States, one in every seven. Next to Japan, we lead the world in the number of divorces and murders.

You wouldn't be a bit surprised if that young man had a very loose idea in regard to polygamy. The Mormons are stretching their tentacles over eleven States, with a direct wire to Washington; for three administrations they have dictated the policy of our national life. They send out missionaries in every part of the United States bear-

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ing a pagan message blaspheming the name of God; and notwithstanding all the protest, Reed Smoot still sits in the United States Senate.

You wouldn't be surprised if that young man had a very loose idea with regard to the Sabbath, and you found him a Sabbath desecrator. Every Sunday the mail trains are speeding across the continent, while an army of men must work all day to gain their bread. It is only lately that they stopped Sunday work on the canal. It is a shame that this great world's fair should be open on the Lord's day. I want to tell you that if you have no Sabbath you will soon have no good religion, and if you have no religion, you will have no God, and then no conscience, and then no respect for the rights of your fellowmen, and then lawlessness and anarchy will come, and those two things, lawlessness and anarchy, are increasing in direct proportion as you lose the Bible from your public schools, and your American Sabbath.

You would not be surprised if that young man had loose ideas with regard to the Bible in its relation to the state, the citizen, and national life, and there are these groups that I have told you of that are trying to banish the Bible from the school and the national life.

I might mention a great many more things in our national life that mark the drift; I have only given you a few to indicate the mile posts and give you a realization of the necessity of going back to the fundamental that made possible this American nation, and that is our national religion. What we need to-day is a proclamation of the principles of God as they are applied in national life in such a way that they will go deep into the heart of every American citizen, and then we will have a citizenship that will overthrow all the great systems of evil, and write into our fundamental law the acknowledgment

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of God who sits upon the throne; and until we do that we can never say that America has been brought to Christ. You would be surprised in going through the Bible, how large a proportion of it is given over entirely to national welfare; fully a third of the Bible is God's specific message to the nations.

I want to emphasize the absolute necessity of this declaration of our national religion; every day America refuses to acknowledge the Lord Jesus Christ as her Lord and Master is a disgrace. God has determined the appointed seasons and has set the bounds and habitations of the peoples of the earth; he has meted out to us every inch of soil under the Stars and Stripes. The Lord Jesus Christ died for the redemption of America; if you don't get anything else, get this truth; Jesus Christ swung from the cross to save America and American social life. "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son"; that is the great news for the individual; speed it around the world until the last sin-sick soul on the face of the earth has heard it. But you don't hear the following verse so often; "God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved." And the Greek word translated "world" is "cosmos"; in its root meaning it is an orderly arrangement. When it is applied to the physical universe you mean the orderly arrangement of the stars and planets. Applied to humanity, it is the orderly arrangement of mankind, organized society in all of its manifestations, and there is no possibility of evading that meaning of cosmos when you are dealing with humanity. God did not send his Son to redeem organized society, but that organized society through him might be saved. There you have the great fundamental hope for the transformation of human society; the only hope is the Lord, Christ, the

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Savior of the family, of the state, of society in all of its departments. This is the end for which he laid his hands upon the cross, the end for which he descended into the grave.

He tells us to go and preach to all the nations, teaching them to observe all of these laws. I look forward across the ages to the time when nation after nation shall own him as their Lord, and the Church of Jesus Christ as their faith. But the safety of the nation demands that we have this acknowledgment of Christ in our fundamental law. God is very specific when he speaks of the nations: "All the nations that forget me shall be cast into Sheol." But the nation that accepts him shall live and prosper.

In Congress there has been a bill to recognize God in the Constitution; the committee did not report it out; Congress was not ready; but the time must come to every man and nation when it must decide between good and evil.

And we must have a revival of our national religion because the good of the world demands it. We are living in a great age, and bear great responsibilities. The Christianizing of the United States Government is our only hope; it is our only hope of Christianizing China, and of demonstrating the gospel of Jesus Christ to the nations that sit in darkness.

Somebody asks what influence we have abroad? Can we ask that question in this day when we look across the sea and behold the carnage? Do we not expect to have America step forth with the dove of peace on her hand? Are we not to-day in the limelight of the world's vision? Some one has said, "As goes America, so goes the world." But if God chooses he can forget that America ever existed. We hold the advantage now; our oppor-

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tunity is now, and we must acknowledge our national religion that we may bring peace to those nations now at war.

General Grant, when he was campaigning, refused to allow his picture to be painted on the flag, because he said no man was good enough to have his portrait placed upon the flag; and he was right; but is not the Man of Galilee good enough to have his portrait painted on the American flag? On Sunday morning, on board our warships, there is a white flag with a blue cross run up to the masthead, above even the Stars and Stripes, which signifies that the men on the ship are engaged in worship. If that flag can swing from the yard arm of our navy, can it not also in our national government? Let us have a revival of our national religion, and choose out from among us men who fear God. Send them up to the State legislatures and to our National Congress, and they will acknowledge God in our Constitution.

CHAPTER XXXI.
THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL PROGRESS.

BY CHARLES S. GARDNER.

It is a bold undertaking to attempt to discuss this subject within the brief compass of an address. It would require condensation to bring an adequate discussion of it within the limits of a volume.

As one studies this important subject the more an adequate answer to it seems to require an analysis of the fundamental principles of the social life. At the threshold three conceptions of society confront us, our acceptance or rejection of which will profoundly influence the answer which we shall reach.

According to one, society is a great being with a consciousness, a purpose, a will, a personality of its own, distinct from the minds, purposes, wills, personalities of the individuals who are its elementary constituents. It regards society as an organism after the analogy of a biological organism. Mr. John A. Hobson, a firm adherent of this theory, thus states it: "Society must then be conceived, not as a set of social relations, but as a collective organism, with life, will, purpose, meaning of its own, as distinguished from the life, will, purpose, meaning of the individual members of it.* He accepts, it would appear, almost without qualification, the biological analogy. "The study of the social value of individual men no more constitutes sociology than the study of the cell-life constitutes human physiology." This conception of society is a very old and persistent one. It may be traced back through many able thinkers to Plato. It is

**Work and Wealth*, p 15.

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a mistake to claim, as Mr. Hobson by implication does, that it underlay the whole social life and thought of the ancient world; but as soon as the group ceased to be regarded as a religious unit and a scientific conception of society arose, it took this form. It is still potent in our present-day thought.

The second conception is at the opposite extreme. Society is only a mass of individuals, fundamentally independent of one another, who find it convenient to come to terms with one another and manage somehow or other to do so, and live together according to rules agreed upon among themselves. The social compact idea of Rousseau has been outgrown, but the principle of it still underlies popular social thinking. We are safe in saying that there can not be found a trained thinker on social questions who now accepts it.

The third view, and the one to which I hold, is that society is an organism, but of a peculiar type, analogous to the biological organism in only some particulars, while in some most important respects it is different. A society is an organism in that it is composed of living elements, has a distinct and definite unity, develops from within in response to the conditions of the environment, and develops by the formation of organs for the performance of special functions in the interest of the whole body. We may go further and say that these organs are composed of individual elements which are more and more narrowly specialized as the organism develops to higher and higher stages. But further than this no significant analogy can be traced. In it, unlike the animal organism, there is not developed a centralized consciousness controlling and correlating the activities of the several organs. In fact, in the development of society the tendency seems to be in the opposite direction. What we see here is, if I may use

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the phrase, distributed consciousness; the elementary constituents—call them cells, if you wish—develop with the higher organization of society a more and more intense *individual* consciousness, and the several organs of the social body come more and more under the control of these individual minds acting together. This is the very meaning of democracy, expressed in terms of social psychology. If apart from these there is an over-consciousness, we are not aware of it, it is not given as a fact of the individual consciousness, and we cannot locate it; it simply lies outside the range of perception of the individual. To assume that there exists such a collective consciousness separate from individual minds, is to indulge in pure metaphysical speculation. These individual minds react upon and influence one another profoundly, and relate themselves to one another in many definite and regular ways. They are "social minds." Indeed a genetic study of the individual mind shows that there is no other species of mind. They are all social. They are always developed in a social medium. To be conscious at all, in any clear and definite sense of the term, is to be conscious of self as a factor in a social situation. As mental development goes on the consciousness of self increases in clearness and intensity, the self deepens to an interior focus; at the same time the social content of consciousness not only becomes clearer, but enlarges to include wider circles with which the individual feels himself to be vitally related. This double process of the subjective concentration and the objective expansion of the content of consciousness is the characteristic mark of mental growth. The personality more and more realizes itself as an individual in an ever-widening circle of conscious relations with other personalities. One becomes more individual and more social at the same time and in

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the same process. The social mind is in the individuals of society. The social will is not a separate will apart from and above these individual minds; but is the correlation or organization of these wills brought about by their reaction upon one another. It is something more than a common orientation of these minds, a mere coincidence of their determinations; and something less than the determination of a mind distinct from and above them. The social mind and social will are located in individuals, if they are ascertainable by us at all.

I dwell upon this abstract proposition because one's practical conclusions are necessarily influenced by the theoretical considerations which lie behind them. If society is a great being with a mind and will and purpose of its own, distinct from the minds, the wills, and the purposes of individual persons; if it is itself a great personality, in which you and I play the part played by the cells in the animal organism, then social progress must in the last analysis consist in advancing toward the realization of that over-individual purpose. But what is that purpose? How can I tell? Do the cells in my body know what *my* purpose is? Suppose them to be endowed with individual consciousness, if you will (though that is pure assumption), do their minds include the consciousness of my purpose? Certainly I cannot discover among the contents of my consciousness any awareness or intuition of an over-individual purpose which this assumed over-individual being cherishes and is striving to realize. I have some consciousness of my own purpose, of the agreement of my thought and will with the thoughts and wills of many of my fellow-beings, and also of the disagreement of my own thought and will with those of many others; and as my consciousness expands I become more or less aware of the fact that, as a resultant of these agreements

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and conflicts, there comes a collective decision as well as a general trend of the collective life. But if, apart from these individual minds and their interactions, there is a great, central Mind of the social body which is directing all toward some goal of its own choosing, I have no consciousness of it; and no function of my mind enables me to read the purpose of that Mind or to discover what the goal is which it has chosen. How, then, is it possible for me to ascertain what its standards and valuations are, that I may have a criterion of social progress?

It may be said that history will give us the clue. But I think not. In the first place, we are at a loss to know whether each human group has an over-individual mind of its own. If so, these several group-minds do not seem to be in agreement; and if progress consists in advancing toward the realization of their purposes, then it means one thing in one place and a different thing in another place. Or is there one general social consciousness guiding the development of humanity as a whole, and correlating these several group-minds toward an end that lies beyond them all? If there be such a supreme central mind of humanity guiding the total movement of human history, is it free? That is, is the goal toward which it is moving predetermined for it? If free, does the goal of its choice remain always the same? Can it change its purpose? With this theory we are left free to fly on the wings of speculation through empty space over the vast, tossing ocean of historical change, without chart or compass to guide us. All that we can say is that progress must consist in advancing toward the end chosen by this super-personal mind, but what that end is, we are without any sure means of ascertaining.

But another question of great importance arises. Do the interests of this assumed, super-individual being co-

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incide with the interests of the individuals composing it? Here again we are without any sure answer. Evidently we can never be sure that they do; and the assumption, tacit or expressed, in the writings of the social philosophers who maintain this theory is that these individual and over-individual interests do at least often conflict, and that it is not unfrequently necessary for the interests of the individual to be absolutely sacrificed as the great Social Being moves toward the realization of its own ends. But if true, it lands us in an ethical contradiction from which there is no escape; nay, it leaves us without any ascertainable, ethical standard that is at all sure. For on this theory the final criterion of right must be co-operation with the super-personal being in the attainment of its chosen ends; but what that end is, must ever remain uncertain to the limited consciousness of individual minds. We may be told that a sane, social policy consists in making "provision for harmonizing the order and the growth of the narrower and the wider organism," which would be quite reasonable if first there were any sure way of knowing definitely the purpose of the "wider" or super-individual organism, so far as it may be different from that of the "narrower," that is, the individual organisms. I am profoundly convinced that this theory introduces a confusion which is both unnecessary and interminable into the effort to define a standard of social progress.

On the other hand, let us approach the question from the point of view of the third conception of society. According to this, all real values must in the last analysis be individual. There is no consciousness except in individual organisms. Where there is no consciousness there are no values, for valuation is a conscious process. We may speak of objective values; but that is only the attribution of subjective meanings to objective things. Things

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in themselves, that is, apart from their relations to conscious beings, are neither good nor bad, neither beautiful nor ugly, neither pleasant nor unpleasant. These and all other qualities are only names for the meanings which things have for conscious beings. They indicate forms or modes of consciousness. These propositions carry with them the inevitable inference that social conditions and policies are good or bad only because they promote or hinder the welfare of individual persons. A social organism, which really is only a system of psychical relations among the members of a group, has no consciousness apart from the minds of those related persons and therefore has no values to realize or to conserve apart from its meaning for their welfare. That system has unity and is continually undergoing modification and development in certain, regular ways, according to which these minds react upon one another in striving to realize their several interests. The social organism, therefore, is only a medium in and through which its conscious constituents, human beings, may realize their welfare.

This raises a question that involves the fundamental meaning of life, What is the welfare of a human being? Confining ourselves yet a while longer to general principles, we may say that a human being's highest welfare consists in realizing the maximum possibilities of his humanity, the development of his personality to the highest possible point. Time forbids an attempt to demonstrate in detail the truth of this proposition. To my mind it is hardly open to question. It is the nature of a living organism to develop its potentiality. To such an organism everything is injurious which defeats or hinders this process; everything advantageous which furthers it. But a human personality is distinguished from lower organisms by the fact that it must work out its destiny on the

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ethical level of life. As it develops it assumes one of two types; *it must be organized either around some dominant motive which is indifferent or opposed to the well-being of the group of which it is a member; or around the well-being of the group as its controlling motive.* In the first case the well-being of its fellows becomes insignificant or incidental or subsidiary; in the latter case the well-being of others, that is, of the group, as it is the central and dominant motive, subordinates to itself all other considerations and excludes those that are inconsistent with it. There is a third conceivable possibility, namely, that the personality should organize itself as an ellipse, of which the foci would be two co-ordinate motives—the first, the interests of the self as distinguished from the interests of the group; the second, the interests of the group as distinct from the interests of self. But could such a bi-focal personality ever attain, or, at any rate, *maintain* an equilibrium between these dominant but distinct and co-ordinate motives? I think not. I grant that some, perhaps many, personalities do approximate this type of organization. But their moral life is an unstable equilibrium. In fact they really alternate between the first and second types. Sometimes the one, sometimes the other motive is in the ascendant; and gradually they tend to crystallize into one or the other of these types. Our moral intuitions attest that the second type of personality is the higher, that is, the more truly, fully, and nobly human. The greatest moral leaders have been men of this type; especially was he who has gradually and irresistibly won his way to the supreme moral leadership of the race.

If now with this conception of society, we examine the past experience of the race and try to gather from the vast series of its changes its general meaning, we shall

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find that we hold in our hand a most valuable clue. We shall find, I think, that the evolution of human life with all its variations, shifts, confusions, progressions, retrogressions, and crises, resolve itself into three essential processes:

I. The human groups that at first lead an independent, or relatively independent, life increase in numbers, extent, and the complexity of their organization. Of course, some of them disappear, sooner or later, or are absorbed by others; and none of them can count upon a straight lineal development without blending with others in some way and in some degree. The tendency is toward the development of larger and still larger organized groups, and along with this goes the increasing complexity of their internal life. As one surveys that process, and sees how steady the trend is in that direction, it is hard to resist the conclusion that the human race is destined to be organized as one immense group with an almost infinite complexity of interdependent functions. But does not the great conflict that shakes the world to-day speak in tones of thunder a point-blank denial of this prospect? Not to one who has studied the whole history of this process. To my mind the boom of the most powerful artillery the world has ever seen, the terrific bursting of aerial bombs, and the deadly, under-sea explosion of the torpedo are but the loud proclamation of the fact that the race is already partly organized as an economic and cultural unit and that political isolation and opposition cannot much longer obstruct the process of bringing all sections of humanity into this organic unity.

II. Meantime there goes on a parallel process of "civilization," or the building up of culture. It consists essentially in preserving and transmitting to succeeding generations the increasingly varied experiences and achieve-

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ments of the race. First, there is the growth of institutions, that is, more or less fixed methods of adjusting men to one another in the more important spheres of human interest, such as the political, the economic, the religious, and the educational. Second, ideals and standards of valuation arise and become authoritative in the various sections of society. Third, knowledge increases. What former generations have done and thought is not suffered to sink into oblivion, but is preserved in records; while the vision of men is not only extended backward, but is broadened laterally, so to speak, to take in what their contemporaries are doing and thinking. Of equal or even greater importance is the fact that by accumulated experience man's knowledge of nature is extended and made more definite; he learns to control and organize natural forces; he builds around himself an artificial environment which gradually assumes an importance in his life greater even than the natural one in the midst of which he began his career in the world; and he creates from the raw materials of nature a vast store of economic goods for the sustenance and comfort of life. As the knowledge of history and nature increases and is clarified by critical processes, the sciences and arts develop. Thus little by little grows the vast but incomplete structure of human civilization, to which each succeeding generation is born heir and to which it adds the results of its own thought and endeavor.

III. It appears that along with the enlargement and growing complexity of the group-life and the development of culture, the men themselves become more individualized, especially in their mental and spiritual organization. On the average, each comes to possess a more peculiar and pronounced personality. Each appropriates and enjoys more freely whatever of the accumulated stock

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of social goods his inborn tastes and capacities call for and enable him to utilize. He becomes more free to move hither and thither over wide areas of the earth; more free to choose his companions, his occupations, his relations, the end for which he will live. The grip of the "dead hand" is relaxed; the tyranny of blind custom is weakened. The individual, on the average, becomes more rationally self-directing; his consciousness more alert; his will more autonomous; his conscience less subject to external authority. Does this mean the decay of the sense of obligation and the growth of license? It may. Indeed, there have been stages in the great process when it apparently did mean that. There have come epochs of moral disintegration and confusion when the moral deficit became so great that the social order fell to pieces, or was held together by force alone; but in such times, if one looks around, he will see emerging a movement for the reorganization of the moral life on a higher plane, and in the long run the sense of obligation will be both deepened and extended in its range. This was eminently true in the slow organization of the modern world out of the ruins of the ancient order; let us believe that it will be true in the new era of human history that must follow this epoch of economic, political, and spiritual crisis.

As a matter of fact, the development of the moral life, both in the deepening and the extension of the sense of moral obligation, is an indispensable part of the general social processes I am describing. The enlargement of the group must be accompanied by the extension of the area of the obligation the individual feels; and the growing complexity of its life, since it necessarily brings with it a greater degree of interdependence, must emphasize the duty of each to all and of all to each. Otherwise the society will break down through the lack of an ethical bond

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strong enough to hold all its members together in a corporate life; internal antagonisms will develop which will destroy the social unity and split the body into warring factions, or shiver it into a complete anarchy of discordant elements. It may be laid down as a sociological law that the expansion of the group and its internal differentiation require both the lengthening and the strengthening of the ethical bond, for the reason that the bond must hold together a large number of men more distantly separated in space and more dependent upon one another in their increasingly specialized activities. There must grow up a sense of community of life with a wider group and a keener realization on the part of each individual that he is a trustee of the interests of all the others.

I venture to assert that the chief break upon the wheel of social progress has always been the insufficient realization of a higher ethical life to correspond with the more developed social situation. The ethical development seems to lag behind the processes of expansion and differentiation of the group life. As an illuminating example, consider the prophetic period in Hebrew history. Israel was passing out of the simple society of the tribal period into the more comprehensive and complex life of the state. The tribal organization was undergoing inevitable disintegration in the process. The ethical life was lagging in its progress. The prophets were the men who took the ethical principles of the primitive period that was passing, unfolded their deeper meaning and gave them a wider application to the broader conditions of a national life. Doubtless all the earlier peoples passed through a similar socio-ethical crisis; though nowhere else, we must admit, were the appropriate principles so strongly grasped, so clearly and persuasively expounded and given the authority of such powerful religious sanctions. If modern

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civilization collapses it will, I think, be due to the fact that our social order will have become so vast and intricate that the ordinary people on whom such heavy responsibilities are imposed are unequal to the proper performance of their social tasks, because their ethical development has not kept pace with the expansion and complication of their social relations. Certainly there are ominous indications that such an ethical failure may be among the possibilities of the not distant future. I am neither predicting nor expecting such a catastrophe, but it is not wise for our optimism to blind itself to the possibilities of the modern situation. If it should occur it would only be a repetition, on a more colossal scale, of the decline and fall of the ancient civilization, and due primarily to the same cause; and, of course, would be preliminary to a new and finer era of human development.

Strictly speaking, these stages of moral progress, which are so striking a feature of the general broadening and complication of the social life, are not introduced by the discovery and adoption of a new moral principle, but are marked by a more subjective realization and a broader application of one great principle which lies at the basis of moral conduct—the “consciousness of kind,” as Professor Giddings has called it, or group-consciousness. It is an obvious fact that men do not feel moral obligation beyond the limits of their conscious community of life, and feel it in proportion to the degree of that consciousness. Within the circle in which it is felt it fluctuates as from time to time this consciousness varies in acuteness. I do not mean to say that no other consideration influences or modifies one’s sense of obligation. When one man enters into a special relation with another, certain specific duties are, of course, involved in that relation. When definite agreements are made with others, the obli-

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gation to keep faith is, of course, felt to be binding. But the interesting fact is that these particular obligations assumed in contracts come under the general principle just stated. If one has no "consciousness of kind" with the other party of the contract; or if for any reason that consciousness becomes weak or disappears, the contractual obligation varies accordingly as to the feeling of its moral imperativeness. This is the reason why treaty obligations between nations snap like weak cords under the strain of national interest. This is the explanation of the strange ethical paradox witnessed every day upon the field of battle, when at one moment a soldier is doing his utmost to take the life of a soldier in the opposite line, and at the next moment is equally solicitous to save his life as a wounded captive. At one moment the national group-consciousness is in the ascendant and subordinates or suppresses the broader human group-consciousness; while at the next moment the situation is reversed. And the singular thing is that the soldier feels that he is doing his *duty* in both instances. In this principle is found the explanation of the ethical paradox that a man whose consciousness of kind has never been expanded beyond racial lines, or is feeble beyond those limits, will treat persons of another race with indifference or even brutality, though he may be normally observant of moral obligations toward persons of his own race. A man whose conscious community of life has never been expanded in vigor beyond the limits of his family, his circle of kinship in the narrower sense, but is relatively strong within those limits, will be rather keenly solicitous of the interests of those within the short radius of his group-consciousness, but coolly indifferent to the welfare of men who are so unfortunate, or fortunate, as not to be included among his near kindred.

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The sense of moral obligation extends, then, in concentric circles as one's "consciousness of kind" expands to wider groups of those who are felt to be his fellow-men. But in the process the sense of kinship becomes, so to speak, refined. It becomes less physical and more spiritual. The sense of physical kinship does not indeed disappear; the "consciousness of kind" still involves in some measure the realization that a common blood flows in the veins of all within the circle. But it is more and more characterized by the realization of a common psychical life, a community of spiritual nature, as the group with which one feels himself identified grows larger and larger. At the same time it normally becomes more subjective, more inward; the corresponding obligation comes to be less and less an attitude imposed by custom, and is more rationally conceived as a personal duty. Like a tree it sends its roots down deeper into the individual personality as it spreads its branches to cover larger areas of surrounding humanity. It must deepen as it expands.

We may sum up this general and somewhat abstract discussion which has thus far occupied us as follows: humanity is continually aggregating in larger groups; the organization of these groups is continually becoming more complex and its specialized activities more interdependent, while the value of individual personality is more strongly emphasized and the sphere of its indirect influence is enlarged. A necessary corollary of this double process is that the sense of moral obligation must at once extend and deepen; which means that the consciousness of kinship must become more spiritual and expand to include wider circles of humanity. The inevitable goal of this development would seem to be the organization of the human race into one group, with an ethical life which springs from a lively sense of spiritual

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kinship with all men, so that the love and service of humanity will become the dominant motive of the average man. This goal seems far away, but the development of humanity so far, when properly read, seems to indicate that it is *the* goal. Hitherto the evolution toward this has been punctuated by great crises of which apparent moral failure and social disintegration have been the outstanding features; and other such epochs may await us in the future. Those epochs in which the wave appeared so disastrously to recede were due to the fact that the expansion and organization of the group-life outran the process of socializing the units of society. If these statements are correct, it would seem to be the inevitable inference that social progress consists in advancement toward this goal, and that this advancement must proceed *by more thoroughly democratizing and moralizing the entire social order as it grows more extensive and complicated.*

Turning now from this general discussion, let us consider the application of the principles stated to some particular spheres of social life.

I. The political sphere. In this sphere progress lies in bringing all the political functions more and more directly under the control of the people, and in directing all political activities more consciously to the realization of the highest ethical ideals. The vast extent and highly complex organization of modern States constitute a difficult problem for democracy. When the political group was small and compact and the political machinery was not so very elaborate, as in the ancient and medieval city-states, the problem of democratic control was difficult enough; but it was not comparable to the difficulty presented by our great, modern, territorial States. When the modern States arose they included wide territories

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whose population was sparse and for the most part aggregated about local centers between which intercommunication was slow and infrequent; and the solution of the problem of popular control was sought and fairly well secured by emphasizing local self-government, keeping centralized state authority at a minimum, and delegating the functions of government to representatives periodically elected by the people. But this method is proving inadequate to the present situation and is breaking down before our eyes. Modern society no longer consists of relatively isolated, semi-independent local groups. There are still centers of social life; but those centers are vastly larger and more complex; are knit together by numerous and various lines of communication and are integrated in a highly centralized and interdependent system of national, or more properly, international life. The political machinery has followed this development and become extremely complex, whether we regard the methods for securing the expression and registration of the popular will or the methods for putting that will into execution. From the people as sovereign through the political machinery back to the people as subjects, is a long and crooked road which runs through many mountain defiles and many dark and dangerous jungles, and is frequented by highwaymen all along. The result is that the will of the people is imperfectly ascertained, inadequately expressed, frequently misinterpreted, and was for a time openly defied. The representative system suited the conditions under which it grew up; it does not suit the conditions under which it is now giving way. The machinery has become so complex that only an expert who devotes himself to the art, can manipulate it. Hence the emergence of the political boss and his machine, an entirely logical and inevitable development of the attempt to oper-

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ate a representative system of government under conditions to which it is no longer adapted.

It is evident that we must profoundly modify the representative system. We must establish a more direct connection between the people and the government, which, in theory, is the expression of their will. I shall not now enter into a discussion of the methods proposed for securing this result. Suffice it to say that we must move—indeed, are necessarily now moving—toward a real government by public opinion. The press must more and more become the forum for political discussion, rather than the party headquarters, or secluded committee rooms, or even the halls of legislation. Proposed measures must be threshed out in the public press—which should be made a *public* press rather than the press of private interests—and in groups of citizens assembled for the free and open discussion of matters pertaining to the common weal, until public thought crystallizes into public decision. Representative assemblies, if any function shall ultimately be left them, must act simply as the agents for registering that decision. The people must learn to vote for measures rather than for men, and be given the opportunity to do so. Along this line we must proceed to dethrone the silent boss and the voluble demagogue, who is usually the “voice of his master,” and to enthrone the thoughtful citizen. Or will it be the enthronement of the mob? So it is claimed by some who look with apprehension upon the growing unpopularity of the present system. But if that be true, our case is a desperate one indeed. To save our political life from the tyranny of the boss, we appeal to the people. To save it from the tyranny of the mob, must we take refuge again under the dominion of the boss? Surely we are not to see-saw eternally between these alternatives. Can the crude-

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ness, haste, and passion of popular thought be eliminated only by passing it through the sieve of machine politics? If our only alternatives are the boss and the mob, it is like making a choice between the claws of the tiger and the teeth of the wolf. I do not think that we are reduced to that extremity, because I believe that the people can, by the very practice of democracy, be educated sufficiently to pass intelligent and honest judgment upon public interests. It is a significant fact that those who are standing most stoutly against reform movements are also bitterly opposed to the movement toward bringing the people into more direct control of public affairs. This does not mean that there are not among the opponents of this movement some able, honest, and unselfish men. There have been some able, honest, and unselfish men opposed to every movement ever started in the interest of humanity. The simple fact is that the evils of our present political life do not indicate a failure of democracy, but the failure of a system which, by reason of changing social conditions, has gradually grown up as a substitute for democracy.

This leads me to emphasize the second requisite of political progress—the moralizing of political activity, the conversion of all the organs and functions of political life into means for the realization of our highest ethical ideals. This, of course, is much more easily said than done, but hitherto political progress has come along this line, and along this line it must continue.

It has been ably maintained that the state is an institution which arose as a means of economic exploitation.* This theory of the origin of the state does not seem to me to include and explain all the facts, but beyond question it contains a great truth. The state has never entirely lost this character. What is law to-day but the

*See *The State*, by Oppenheimer.

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unstable equilibrium reached by the pressure of various groups, each of which is seeking to realize its own particular interest? The statement is made, and truly, that "the balance of the group pressures is the existing state of society."* And the most active and powerful of those groups have always been economic interests whose motive has been gain and whose chief method has been exploitation. Even when the groups have not been economic in the technical sense, they have usually been actuated by the economic motive. In all the past, down to this present moment, the government has been a specialized agency through the control of which these gain-seeking groups have in proportion to the measures of their strength exploited other groups. But the process of moralizing government has been going on. Slowly, much too slowly, the conviction has been gaining ground that the government has become a constructive co-operation for the common weal rather than an unstable equilibrium of conflicting interests. Political progress may be measured exactly by the growth of this conception. The government must cease entirely to be the instrument of the dominant, self-seeking forces in society. The negative theory that it is merely the umpire of the game in which conflicting groups are seeking their own selfish ends, must also be abandoned, if progress is to mark our future. The state must set itself the task of positively realizing a great ethical ideal, the personal development of all its citizens, and shape its policies to that end. Let not this form of statement carry with it the implication that the state is something separate from and above the body of its citizens. This notion, brought over from the days of royal absolutism, has led some people to characterize as "paternalism" the ideal of government I am contending

*Bentley's *"The Process of Government,"* p. 259.

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for. The term is singularly unfitting. Paternalism in a real democracy is impossible. When a democracy sets itself this task, it is "fraternalism," and without it there is, in fact, nothing but a democracy in name. What I am pleading for is the building up in the minds of the people a higher and better standard of social ethics; the education of the people to realize that personal development is the only real interest of any man, and that the personality can be developed on the moral level only as it ceases to be self-centered. They should be brought to conceive of the state as a constructive institution in which the body of the citizens co-operate through the instrumentality of the law for this high purpose. Thus law becomes relatively less a mere protection of rights and relatively more an authoritative definition of duties within a given realm of social relations. At bottom the issue is this: Shall the state be used as an instrumentality for promoting the economic interest of certain groups of the people or as an instrumentality for promoting the general well-being of all the people.

II. The economic sphere. I have just said that law must more and more become an authoritative definition of positive duty within a certain sphere of social relations. Economic relations have always been the principal sphere of political activity, and never so obviously as in the present epoch; but economic activities have been less democratized and less moralized than any other, except war itself, and the chief obstruction to political progress lies in that fact. The most urgent and the most fundamental issue of our time is whether economic life can be democratized and moralized. It is a rather bold and comprehensive statement to make, but present conditions seem to justify us in saying that such a structural and ethical reorganization of industry must take place if the splendid

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march of our civilization is not to end in disaster. What I mean by democratizing industry is that those who co-operate in the production of economic values must also co-operate in determining the conditions under which the work is done and in the division of the products. Those who co-operate in the production are divided into three general classes—first, those who do in the main the brain work, the organizing and directing; second, those who do chiefly the physical labor; third, the public, whose wants determine the value of the products and whose general interests are both directly and indirectly affected by the methods of production. Of course, a very large proportion of the persons who compose the public themselves belong to the first or the second class of those directly engaged in production, so far as one or two industries are concerned; but with respect to other industries form a part of “the public” in the strict sense of the term. For example, the organizers and working men of the transportation business stand in the first and second classes with respect to that industry; but with respect to all other industries, in the third class. Now, all these classes must be given a real and potent voice in determining the policies and methods of a given industry and in the division of the values which they have jointly created. Whatever the difficulties involved in such an organization of industry—and I realize that they are very great—it is a requirement of elementary justice that it be done. In fact, it has already been accomplished in small part, but through the method of conflict, and this method keeps alive class feeling and stimulates suspicion, if not hatred. We must strive to lift the whole matter out of this atmosphere of strife on to a higher ethical level. This is a necessary condition of moralizing industry. The injustice

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of the present system is so manifest that it is really amazing that it should not be apparent to every one.

But though industrial democracy is a fundamental, ethical requirement, it is not what is primarily meant by moralizing economic life. The phrase is used to indicate the setting of distinctively ethical aims for all forms of economic activity. The man who engages in any occupation with the motive of gain central in his consciousness can never do his work in a truly ethical spirit; and the average man, as human nature is constituted, will, unless deterred by external prohibition, fall into methods that are positively immoral even according to present standards. The man who has his eyes focused upon his own interest will, by a psychological law almost as fixed as that of gravitation, be unable to see in their proper proportions the interests of other men. Other men's interests will ordinarily occupy the "fringe" of his attention. His own interest will be magnified and the interests of others proportionally dwarfed in his consciousness. This will be true even when he is dealing with another man face to face. But our economic system is to-day so organized that it does not bring men face to face in the greater number of their dealings. It is a vast system of corporate activities and relations; it does not bring men into immediate contact with by far the greater number of those with whom they are related through these activities. If a sort of moral astigmatism affects the vision of men when they have business dealing directly with one another, how much more true is it when the other man is not in sight at all, and perhaps not even in mind except as an abstract buyer or seller. The corporate organization of business lends itself with marvelous ease to the selfish exploitation of others—which "others" are only so many impersonal figures upon the chess-board of the

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economic game. It is obvious that the more highly and widely organized occupational activities become, the more imperative it is that they be definitely aimed at distinctively ethical ends, if they are not to degenerate into customary means of exploiting other men. I do not believe that any system of external, forcible restraints, however necessary they may be in the present order of things, can successfully prevent it. At best they can only make more difficult and hinder in some measure the exploiting process. The evil will not be remedied, in fact will not in any important degree be reduced, until we moralize economic activities by bringing them under the law of public service, and setting for them ethical ends—or *the* ethical end, the welfare of all the people. Can any one tell why men should not enter into business, organize and conduct industrial and commercial corporations for the conscious purpose of promoting the welfare of their fellow-men? Impossible? But why? Impracticable in the present order of things? So much the worse for "the present order of things." The purpose of human life, let us remember, is not to preserve the present order of things, but to promote human welfare.

It is, of course, not a simple matter of a change of mind on the part of individuals in business. The individual is implicated in a vast system which is organized around the motive of financial gain; and this materialistic motive, which is non-ethical always and often positively immoral, is acutely emphasized by the necessity of competing with others in the same field of industry. It is not practicable, therefore, for the individual to throw off the dominion of this motive without imminent risk of being crowded to the wall. It is properly a question of the moral reorganization of the system of economic life. That is a large undertaking, and may involve more or

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less radical changes in the structure of economic organization; but how can any thoughtful man question that we must move along this line, if progress is not to be arrested? The opinion is often expressed that the motive of material gain is the only stimulus powerful enough to keep the machinery of modern industry going at full speed, and that to substitute for it a motive far more noble but far less potent would result in such a decrease of production as would impoverish all and reduce the poorer classes to sheer destitution. If that be true, we must resign ourselves to the conclusion that we cannot moralize industry without destroying it; that industry and morality are somehow inconsistent with one another. We should be slow to accept that pessimistic conclusion. The man who maintains that the present industrial system and methods are the embodiment of a high ethical principle certainly cannot have made a careful and unprejudiced study of it. The consciousness that the present system is not ethical is increasing in the ranks of both the successful and the unsuccessful classes. It must continue to increase as the system is carefully scrutinized in its principles and processes; and if the reorganization of industry on a high ethical basis cannot be accomplished without killing it, we have certainly come up squarely against a terrible dilemma.

Are we not prone to underestimate the strength of the grip which the moral motive has upon the hearts of men? If we look at the question from the standpoint of the believers in Christianity, shall we confess that our religion has really accomplished so little after all these centuries? If we reject the pretensions of Christianity and look at the matter simply from the point of view of moral evolution, are we prepared to admit that there has been in fact so little progress? Personally, I cannot take such a

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pessimistic view of the moral advancement of the race. Look at the truly colossal contributions of money for beneficent purposes. Can any man whose heart is not black with pessimism attribute these mainly to motives of vain-glory? That motive doubtless plays a rôle in much of it, but I refuse to believe that it is the chief spring of this mighty stream of benevolence. Men find increasing delight in doing good to their fellows. And if the moral motive is strong enough to make men part with much of their gains, is it reasonable to suppose that it would be so much weaker than gain as a motive to work? Much of the work of the world is motivated by the altogether wholesome desire to be self-supporting; much of it by the laudable desire for honorable distinction; much of it by the equally praise-worthy desire to achieve, to give adequate expression to one's self in creative effort. All these legitimate desires may be gratified under the control of the great ethical motive of promoting human welfare, just as in the old order of things they have been organized under the domination of the motive of gain. Unless my vision is distorted, there are signs all about us that the ethical passion is becoming too strong to be much longer tolerant of a system of economic life, organized on an unethical principle and repressive of the nobler impulses and aspirations of humanity. Under an ethical system there would be multitudes of men willing to work with zeal, and it is absurd to suppose that such men constitute a weaker and incompetent class. Probably many of those who are now active would relax their endeavor, but the net result would be to select and bring to the leadership of industry those who respond readily to the ethical ideal, while the class who are insusceptible to this incentive would drop to the rear in economic life; and would this not be a de-

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cided improvement upon the present situation? It would, unless we are willing to maintain that common sense, energy, and executive ability do not go well with high ethical qualities.

In conclusion, then, we may define social progress either in terms of social organization or in terms of personality. If we fix attention upon the structural relations of society, progress consists in the extension of popular control over all social functions and in directing all social activities to popular welfare as their end. The social system becomes more vast and more complex, more interdependent, and if its control is centered in a few individuals, its increasing vastness and complexity place in the hands of the controlling persons a power that constantly becomes more extensive and more nearly absolute. At the same time it removes them farther and farther from contact with those who are subject to their will. Hence the conditions as they develop must drive us either in the direction of an oligarchy, the power of which grows greater and at the same time falls into the hands of a relatively smaller group of men, or in the direction of a democracy wherein all the people have a voice in all the affairs which concern all the people. Manifestly progress lies in the latter direction. But it is perfectly manifest also that democracy is not a workable method, except as all social activities are moralized. If the various individuals and specialized groups are dominated by the motives of individual or corporate gain, they inevitably clash with one another. Out of the struggle some will emerge triumphant, and power will fall into the hands of a relatively few persons, and even if the forms and pretenses of democracy remain, its soul is gone. Democracy can become a genuine reality only as all social functions are moral-

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ized and the social order becomes a system of public services operated in the spirit of service.

But the structural aspect of the matter is really secondary. Social progress must in the last analysis be defined in terms of personality. To moralize social activities means to subject them to the motive of human welfare. But a man's welfare means essentially the development of his personality. As pointed out before, a person as he develops beyond a quite low stage must cease to be self-centered in his aims, purposes, sympathies. His consciousness of kind must expand to include wider circles of his fellow-men; at the same time his consciousness of individuality must deepen and his personality become more autonomous. Now, social progress must be measured by the proportion of the people who are given sufficient opportunity for and sufficient stimulation to personal development in this sense. It involves an adequate supply of material goods for all important physical needs; but is not so much a matter of the quantity of material goods as it is of their equitable distribution. It involves education which will fit each man to do his particular work well, and fit him also to enjoy his right as an heir of all the past achievements of the race and as an intelligent partner in all the achievements of his own generation. It involves ample leisure, especially for those who must do the more monotonous tasks of drudgery, for the very reason that they do not get in their work the stimulation of their higher capacities. Leisure cannot be so urgently claimed although needed by those whose work itself furnishes stimulation to their higher powers; for stimulation of the higher powers is the essential thing. The measure of progress is the proportion of the people whose personalities are developed approximately to the maximum of their capacity.

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Using this standard as a measure, can we say that society has made appreciable progress in all its changeful history? It is difficult, of course, to apply such a standard as this to the conditions of any given age? The conclusion reached will, in the nature of the case, be based upon "impressions" rather than upon accurate scientific measurements. But we are quite safe in saying that the progress accomplished is by no means commensurate with the gigantic and age-long striving of humanity. There are, indeed, not wanting historical students of great learning who seriously question whether the race can be said on the whole to have made any notable and substantial progress. This is surely too pessimistic a conclusion. There can be no reasonable question that the proportion of men who in the modern world realize in some important measure the possibilities of their humanity is considerably greater than it was in the ancient or the medieval world. But this qualified statement seems to be the most that the facts will justify us in claiming. And this is a sad confession. Why does humanity climb the hill of progress at such a snail's pace? Is this all that it is possible to show for the colossal struggles and sufferings of the masses of men and the truly divine aspirations and sacrifices of the world's saints and martyrs? Why should progress be so slow? I trust that in the foregoing discussion the reason has been intimated if not clearly expressed. Men have been strangely slow in applying their ethical principles more broadly as their social life expanded. The supreme issue that confronts us now is whether we shall faithfully apply our ethical principles to the vast industrial-political system that has grown up as a result, in large part, of the marvelous mechanical inventions of the last century and a half, and the way in which we meet this issue will determine whether we shall

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go backward or wander around aimlessly in a veritable wilderness of social difficulties or take a long stride forward toward the goal to which sages and saints have pointed as the destiny of humanity on this planet. I cherish the hope that we shall do the last, and in doing so we shall approximate the divine ideal of Jesus--the kingdom of God.

CHAPTER XXXII.
THE CHURCH AND THE CHALLENGE FOR
SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT.

BY FRANCIS J. M'CONNELL.

I wish to begin, if I may, with an illustration that in these later days has become somewhat familiar to you. I have myself heard it a number of times. It is said that there is in the ordination service to the Buddhist priesthood, one question which is repeated seven times as the candidate is led from station to station in his ordination service; this one question is put to him repeatedly, and that one question is this, "Art thou a human being?" That is repeated seven times.

Now, that question, as uttered in the ordination service, has no particular reference to the application that I wish to make of it this afternoon, because Buddhism has not made any great contribution in the way of an answer to that question, or suggested any remedy. That question we have to confront as we consider the forms of human progress, and the question the Church has to keep in mind. The minister of God need not be a sociological expert, but he must call attention to the general considerations which must be kept to the front. There have been a great many stages of social advance since Jesus Christ walked this earth, and we say that the spirit of Christianity has been back of all of these. He did not lay down any detailed system of progress, he announced certain general principles, certain conceptions of human life, and made those conceptions prevail in the thinking of his day and every succeeding day; and it is the business of the

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Christian minister to-day to keep these ideals to the forefront, and in that way he can perhaps do more than in any other single way.

Our Lord felt free to criticize the social institutions of his time from the standpoint of their effect on human life, and we have sometimes taken his principles so much as a matter of course that we have failed to see how revolutionary they were when they were first uttered. "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath." When those words were first uttered they seemed to the persons who heard them, a pestilent heresy, a radicalism beyond all of our modern conception; there is hardly anything a man could say to-day more radical in its effect than those words were then. The Master's whole attitude toward the institutions of his time was a practical attitude. He did not simply pick out this or that particular thing, but it was an attitude of criticism from the standpoint of a fundamental approach.

Take the parable of the Good Samaritan. We have had it interpreted to us simply as an individualistic parable, simply teaching the duty of a man to help his neighbor in distress. Sometimes it has been taken in that way; but then the student of social science comes along and says we must go farther than that, it teaches that it is the business of society to police the road from Jerusalem to Jericho, and of course that is worth while; but the whole point of it was this: it was a criticism of a system; the system of the priests and Levites, which was such that they could walk down a road and see a man stricken and pass by on the other side, and still be priests and Levites in good and regular standing. The criticism was of the system which prevented them from doing their duty as neighbors to the man by the roadside.

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We have to raise that question concerning any system; every little while we have to break up systems, just for the sake of breaking them up, because they have become too mechanical. We send a political party into the wilderness because it is running too smoothly; it becomes a machine, and men forget the great interests they should serve, and the party becomes an end in itself. So it is with social institutions, when they fail to serve any longer the larger human interests which they are intended to serve. The Church has done this, and we understand now that the Church is not an end in itself. When we look upon it merely as an organization, we get away from the standpoint of Jesus Christ, and something has to come along to wrench us back to the proper perspective.

"Are you willing to be damned for the glory of God?" That was once considered a very pertinent question. That is the sort of question that comes from the system which forgets about human interests. A system which asks that kind of a question, expecting an affirmative answer is inhuman, and when a system becomes inhuman, the only thing to do with it is to break it up, or bring it somehow to a better focus. The same thing is true of the state as an organization. Why does the state exist? Simply as a thing itself? Not at all. It can be broken up when it ceases to serve the great human interests. Why do schools exist, or anything else, unless for the sake of the human beings upon this earth? Humanity has a certain right, you might call it the right of eminent domain; the pressure of humanity for a larger life. As Jesus said, "I am come that ye may have life, and have it more abundantly." That is the spirit back of modern progress, and that must be kept in mind.

What should be the attitude of the state, is the question that is continually coming up, in many forms. What is

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the effect of modern society upon the man? What kind of man does the church produce? What kind of man does the school produce? What kind of man does the state produce, or our modern social and industrial organization?

J. A. Hobson has written a book on "Wealth and Human Evils," a consideration of the modern industrial system, and it is the only book of the kind of which I know. We have taken a great many things for granted; we have too often overlooked the human values produced by the system under which we live. Take, for instance, the modern doctrine of property. Sacred is it? Not a bit of it. In a purely incidental sense; in the sense that I am not to appropriate any of your belongings, but that is a matter for the police; but in the sense that we cannot ask any questions about it, not at all. Not in the sense that we can't go down to the bottom of modern property holding. Sometimes we talk about the sacredness of property as if it were something we couldn't ask any questions about. That is a great mistake, and in fact one of the best things going on to-day is a scrutiny into the various forms of property holding. There is a book written by Oxford men which is a consideration of property rights, and they all come to the same conclusion, to the fundamental conception that property has no right at all except what is granted to it by society, and as a socially convenient instrument. There is one thing more important than property, and that is human life. Human values must be kept uppermost, and the worst mistake in this world is the idea that any kind of industrial instrument is more valuable than the lives it is intended to serve.

I am not speaking as a radical; but we must face what is going on in the modern world and take some stand. I was very much struck by a recent debate between Bishop

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Ryan and Morris Hillquit on socialism, and I was impressed by the concessions that Ryan made. He was debating against socialism, but he said that he believed the time would come when the taking of interest would be done away with. The Roman Catholic religion, which stands for vested rights, will go as far as that in making concessions to a Socialist; across Ryan's book was written the imprimature of the Catholic Church.

Take the questions of rent, property, interest; we must test all these things by asking what kind of human interest they serve. We have got to the point where any man who takes money that he doesn't earn must be worth the money that he gets. I have seen men that I would like to endow because they are good people to have around; men of artistic impulses and fine character, and I don't begrudge them anything they get. But we are coming to feel that a man ought to be worth what society pays to keep him going. Every man has an obligation to society. Back of every man here is a long line of men who died for him; patriots and heroes who died for posterity, and we are the posterity that they died for, and that is rather a sobering reflection. A man must be worth to the community what it has cost to rear and maintain him. There is no sacredness about property that prevents raising any questions about it.

Take our modern conditions; what type of man do they turn out? A better kind than some other conditions, but man has not yet a proper chance under modern industrial conditions. The majority of men haven't had a chance yet; most men have lived and died without any chance, taking the world over, in lands beyond the sea and everywhere else. Most human beings went to bed last night without having had enough to eat in the last twenty-four hours; the majority of persons on the earth are actually

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hungry; the present industrial arrangement doesn't furnish enough food to alleviate the pangs of hunger. It is better than it used to be, and it will be better a hundred years in the future than it is now, because the Church will keep raising these questions, and thinking in terms of men and women. We must keep in mind the fundamental question: What is the effect of these things on human life?

There are certain forms of social movement that the Church should do its share toward controlling, for some of these things are getting away from the Spirit of Christ. There is an increasing social discontent in this country and across the sea. You may say that the present war is stopping it, but it isn't; it is increasing it, and we can predict that when the war is over there will be more power in the hands of the people than ever before. They will just wake up some morning and be in possession; that is all. This movement is going on everywhere, and it must be controlled because it is dangerous if it isn't. We need the restraint of Christian principles, and to keep all the organizations subservient to this one question: What is the effect, stated in human terms? Will the people be better off? Have they a chance to live? Have they an opportunity to live a Christian life under the new system which may be proposed?

Things are moving with tremendous speed, so we must have some control; we must change the course of some things. I knew an old man who used to pray, "Lord, send us quick acting grace." That is a good prayer to-day, because of the rapidity of the changes which are going on. Some changes are being made too fast, because there is a lack of control, and we have to go back. There are more Socialists in the world to-day than there are human beings belonging to any other human organ-

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ization under the stars. I don't mean parlor Socialists or persons that simply sympathize with socialism; I mean people who have voted the socialistic ticket in the last five years; organized Socialists. Yet so far Christianity has not come to any understanding with Socialism. Now Socialism certainly needs to learn something from Christianity, and Christianity certainly needs to learn something from Socialism, and there is need of getting together on this matter and facing certain problems together. Let me say that I am not a Socialist; there are certain things that can be struck out of Socialism that are doing it harm. One thing is the materialistic theory of history. Another is economic determinism; another is the idea of class struggle in some of the forms in which it is emphasized. But after all that has been said, there is a solid body of opinion inside the Church and in Socialism that ought to come together and come to some kind of an understanding.

I have a very great admiration for the Roman Catholic Church in some ways; but it is annoying to have a Socialist speak of the Roman Catholic Church as if it were the whole Christian Church, and then hear a Roman Catholic get up and talk about the whole Socialist system as if it were conceived in sin and born in iniquity. It is a movement that is about as significant as any movement in the world to-day, and we should come to some understanding with it, and every good man in the Church is under an obligation to consider this question.

Take the problems of organized labor. We don't have very much influence as leaders of the Church in the councils of organized labor, and one reason is that we have never come to any understanding with even the better class of labor leaders. We have not made it our business to find out and show our sympathy, and so things happen

